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HISTORY

OF THE

PERSECUTIONS

ENDURED BY

THE PROTESTANTS

OF THE

SOUTH OF FRANCE,

AND MORE ESPECIALLY OF

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE GARD,

DURING THE YEARS

1814, 1815, 1816, &c.

INCLUDING A

DEFENCE OF THEIR CONDUCT,

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

By MARK WILKS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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On every point of the department where the reformed religion was professed, the same spirit was displayed, as in the capital of the Garde. Before the second restoration, many towns and villages had experienced its violence; but after the re-establishment of the royal government, it pervaded every branch of the administration. The local authorities were distinguished for their zeal in supporting the efforts of their employers, and under pretence of rebellion, secretion of arms, conspiracy, surveillance of the disaffected, or non-payment of contributions — troops, national guards, and armed mobs were permitted or authorised to plunder, arrest and murder peaceable citizens, and unoffending protestants. To form any idea of the nature and extent of this shameful persecution, it will be necessary to follow the civil and ecclesiastical divisions of the department, and to trace a faint outline of the evils that were perpetrated and endured.

ARRONDISSEMENT OF NISMES.

St. Cesaire is so contiguous to Nismes, that the sufferings of its inhabitants, and the murders of

Imbert, Affourtit and Isnard have been included in the account of the events that occurred in that city.

Milhaud is the only commune in addition to St. Cesaire, comprehended in the consistorial church of Nismes. This village was subject to visits without number from the Miquelets *; and all the protestants, who had property, were compelled either to pay enormous sums, or submit repeatedly to pillage. One or two instances will demonstrate the spirit and the system of the persecutors.

M. Teulon, the proprietor of a large and modern house, and extensive premises, was obliged with many others to become an exile; not because he was committed by any political act, but because it was impossible to resist fanatical fury while the magistrates permitted its ascendancy.

On Sunday, the 16th of July, when all the family were yet at home, such large groups of catholics collected around the house, that it was necessary to shut the gates. From alarming and disgusting language, they then proceeded to deeds. The windows were broken, and the gates were re-opened to appease their rage. They were only rendered more audacious by this concession; they threw stones at Madame Teulon and her daughter, and threatened to kill a child only seven years of age. The night was passed

* A name adopted by the armed mobs of Trestaillons, &c.

in the greatest disorder and distress. The next day M. Teulon wrote a letter to the mayor, to be forwarded to the sub-prefect, explanatory of the reasons of his departure, and fled to Calvisson; where he presented himself to the mayor, with a copy of this letter, and placed himself under his *surveillance*. After two days, during which, Madame Teulon and her family were continually in danger, she took a few articles and set out for Nismes, leaving the property at the mercy of a band, who were marauding at the distance of a quarter of a league, and who spread terror in every direction. The house was plundered; at first inconsiderably, but in the course of fifteen days, the pillage was repeated *five* times. All the windows were broken, and all the valuable furniture was removed or afterwards destroyed. In order to save the remainder, application was made to M. Vidal, that seals might be affixed, and guards stationed on the premises, by the mayor. The seals were attached; but the mayor, M. de Chatellier, refused to place any guard: on the contrary, he appropriated to his own use, the horse of M. Teulon, whose property he ought to have preserved. The seals were soon broken, and on the 26th of August, all the residue of the goods was seized, and divided. The hay and wood which were not yet disposed of, were burned with all the deliberateness of confirmed villany; and what is scarcely credible, the furies took up

the corpse of a child which was buried in the garden, and dragged it round the flames.

The Corps de Garde was near, and the patroles went their rounds; but they neither attempted to check the conflagration, nor even to approach the scene. The trees in the garden were felled; the balconies and the railing of the staircase torn away; and on the following day, (Sunday), at noon, the windows, which the fire had not consumed, were carried off. Two days after, a memorial of these facts was presented to the prefect, M. D'Arbaud Jouques, and he was requested to give orders for the preservation of the vintage, as it was the known design of the catholics to gather the harvest, and destroy the vines. The prefect took no measures to prevent this devastation, and M. Teulon was obliged to sell immediately, for 3500 francs, a vintage, which the purchaser instantly resold for 9000. In the month of September, M. Teulon, jun. obtained authority to search several houses for the stolen property, in company with the gendarmes and the mayor. In spite of the order of the commissary-general of police, the mayor refused to accompany them, and though the property was found, the populace rose in such numbers, and with such fury, that the search was abandoned, and it was with great difficulty M. Teulon escaped with his life. For some days following, the people gratified their vengeance, by pulling down the staircases, the chimnies, the inner walls, the roofs, and all

that the fire had spared. Such was their effrontery, that Phillippe, one of the most active of the depredators, sold publicly, a dining-table, made of the doors and window frames, which he had stolen. The wife of Roque, another of the banditti, boasted that she had obtained from the house, all the furniture of her apartment, except a sofa, and intreated her cousin to indulge her with that article, out of the spoils which had fallen to her share. Finally the gates of the coach house and stables were taken by the national guards to the guard house, to be burnt, or otherwise applied to their own use.

These and a multitude of similar facts, have all been attested and communicated to the procureur-general, in memorials, from which this account is extracted. The premises were still in ruins when I was at Milhaud.

M. Picherol, another protestant, took the precaution to deposit his most valuable effects with a catholic neighbour; the house of this catholic was assailed, and though all his property was respected, that of M. Picherol was separated, seized, and destroyed.

The house of M. Dumas, near the village, had been often subjected to contribution and robbery, and at last was abandoned; a few articles of furniture of little value, only being left. A detachment of depredators thought proper to settle there, as if intrusted with the care of the place. After a short residence, they presented to M. Dumas, (who alone of all the

family, remained at Nismes, a charge of 1500 francs, for guarding his property; a charge which he was obliged to pay, to prevent the premises from being set on fire.

On the 20th of August, a party of the Miquelets arrived at Milhaud in the night. The same mayor, De Chatellier, gave them 200 francs, and promised to send them 400 to Nismes on the following day. On their approach, M. Hermet, a tailor, fled with his wife and an infant in arms. They had proceeded some distance, when they recollected that they had no clothes for the babe, and the husband returned, hoping to secure some articles before the plunderers arrived, and to rejoin his wife and child. Alas! they were to meet no more! He was too late; the wretches, who were already in the street, surrounded him, and swore they would kill him. One of the party, however, declared that he was not the Hermet, whom they had intended to destroy. "Is he a protestant?" they exclaimed; he acknowledged that he *was* a protestant; "Good," said they, "that is enough;" and he was instantly murdered. The mayor ordered the door of his house to be forced, and the corpse of the husband and father was thrown within. The *proces verbal* of this atrocity was deposited with the authorities of Nismes, and the names of the criminals were given; but they have neither been punished nor prosecuted. By the side of the dead body, the mayor paid the 400 francs, which, with the 200 francs

already paid, were entirely levied on the proscribed protestants of Milhaud.

The consistorial church of *Vauvert*, comprising the cantons of that name, and St. Gilles, was exposed to the same kind of spoliation. At Vauvert, a commune of 3000 inhabitants, of whom 2800 are protestants, employed in the vineyards and distilleries, the frequent visits of the *soi-disant* national guards, or royal Miquelets, sent by the prefect, or acting without authority, occasioned great oppression. Under pretence of a second and third disarming, they levied arbitrary contributions, and, in detached situations, the proprietors were ruined. In the canton of Vauvert alone, 80,000 francs were exacted.

In the communes of *Beauvoisin* and *Generac*, almost entirely protestant, similar excesses were committed by a handful of licentious men, under the eye of the catholic mayor, and to the cries of "*Vive le Roi.*" At *Aimargues*, fourteen or twenty families experienced the greatest terror; and to preserve their lives, those who had property were obliged to fly, and leave their homes to be devastated. Excited by the mayor and the secretary of the commune, mobs frequently collected, and declared that no Calvinist should exist there. The houses of M.M. Lamy, Allut, Mourier, and Vincent Negre, were pillaged or burnt. M. Noguier only preserved his property by paying the mayor 4200 francs, which he demanded in advance.

St. Gilles was the scene of the most unblushing villany. The protestants, the most wealthy part of the population, were disarmed and placed at the mercy of their envious neighbours. Under pretence of searching for arms, a band of the royal Miquelets entered the house of the widow Adriane, dealer in yarn and cheese; they presented a pistol to her daughter, and insisted on money; Mademoiselle Adriane protested against their violence, as contrary to the will and the law of his majesty; but seeing a mob of men, women, and children around the house, ready for every crime, she gave them 400 francs. The mayor passed through the crowds and inquired their object, laughed, and walked away without offering the young woman the slightest protection. Three days after, another party went to the same widow, professedly to hire some empty sacks for the conveyance of corn. They obtained 24 sacks, and Mademoiselle Adriane was further compelled to give each of the party 25 francs, which they claimed as the same proportion which each of their comrades had received out of the 400 francs. The 24 sacks they took to another protestant, Madame Jalaquier, filled them with her grain, and then plundered both her dwelling house, and her farm. Another detachment attacked Madame Portier, a retailer of vegetables, and insisted on 300 francs: her refusal made them furious; she cried for help; the mayor was in a house adjoining the scene, and he was appealed to for

assistance. "Good woman," said he, "you must arrange with these men, give them half the sum;" and then turning to the people, "be contented with 150 francs, and retire," said he, "and do not occasion any more scandal." The money was produced; and the mayor and the robbers walked away, leaving the poor woman in tears. This fact was attested by M. Cavalier, at that time *procureur du Roi* at Nismes; but no judicial proceedings have followed. The houses of M. M. Guinard, Peyron, Estève, &c. were also pillaged, and that of M. Fabrégues was set on fire, but happily the flames were extinguished.

These crimes were perpetrated in a commune of 8000 inhabitants, where the mayor had at his disposal, a national guard of several hundred men, organised by his own orders.

The consistorial churches of *Calvisson* and *Aiguevives*, comprising tweny-one rural communes, were continually infested by predatory bands of catholics, under the name of royal Miquelets and national guards. The villagers, principally protestants, were charged with being traitors and Buonapartists; while they were only anxious to cultivate their fields, and attend their temples.

The inhabitants of *Aiguevives* were on the point of suffering military execution, as rebels, for endeavouring to preserve their property and their vines from nocturnal assaults and the fury of a licentious rabble; and the official journal even announced, that they had raised the

standard of revolt. The truth was proclaimed by no doubtful authority. The commissary, sent into the district called Vaunage, published the following statement:—

"Ten communes of the Vaunage have contributed 5000 francs for the equipment of five gendarmes. These communes deserve to be mentioned, for their zeal and their forwardness to surrender all their arms. They are Calvisson, Congenies, St. Cosmes, Nage, Vergeze, Boissière, Soulorgues, Langlade, St. Dionisy, Caveirac, Clarensac, Mafvejols. These sums were voted at a public meeting, held by the mayors, at Calvisson, on the 28th of July. The commune of Gaillargues has contributed 1000 francs, Codognan 500, and Mus 230. May their example be followed by all the communes of the department!!

"The commune of Aiguevives has never raised the standard of revolt; on the contrary, the white flag has waved there since the 17th of July. This commune was never rebellious; it was a misunderstanding which led some persons to fire on the royal troops, alarmed at the unseasonableness of their arrival (they arrived in the night); independently of this circumstance, there would not have been the slightest resistance; since the next day, I, alone, disarmed the whole village.

(Signed) "CORD."*

* In the churches of Calvisson and Aiguevives there are six pastors, and five of them reside in the communes so honourably mentioned by the commissioner.

This document is the more important as this district was more calumniated and oppressed than almost any other; and held up to France, both in the official journal, and in the proclamation of the prefect (cited in a former chapter), as in a state of insurrection against Louis XVIII.

It would be fatiguing to read the lists of thefts, arrests, and violences which occurred during many months. A few specimens of oppression may be quoted. In the commune of *Mus*, containing only 600 inhabitants, four-fifths of whom are protestants, two persons, authorised by the mayor, exacted from this small number of individuals the sum of 2750 francs.

When the duke d'Angoulême was expected at Montpellier in November 1815, the inhabitants of *Aiguevives*, nine-tenths of whom are protestants, prepared, at considerable expence, a triumphal arch, and placed it on the great road, opposite the limits of their commune. The mayor and the municipal council, attended by great numbers of their fellow-citizens, assembled on the same spot, to offer to the royal traveller the homage of their confidence and respect. In the mean time the national guards of Aimargues arrived from Nismes, and finding every attempt to provoke a conflict with the unarmed protestants ineffectual, against their exemplary patience, they destroyed the triumphal arch, and scattered its materials over the road; so that the horses of the prince

trampled, and the wheels of his carriage crushed, the ruins of an humble monument, spontaneously constructed by his supposed enemies, and demolished by his pretended and exclusive friends. The people of Aiguevives still remained to present their personal respect, and had the generosity to refrain from mingling with their felicitations any complaints to his royal highness, of the outrages they had just experienced from men armed by the civil authority, and professedly devoted to his service.

On the same occasion, the protestants of *Calvisson* were treated still more cruelly. In that town the mayor prohibited them the practice of singing the psalms ordinarily used in the temple, *that the catholics* might not be offended or disturbed.

Sommieres, distant about 10 miles from Nismes, gives its name to a canton, and also to a consistorial church, comprising the canton of St. Mamert, and 27 rural communes, nearly the whole of which suffered in the persecutions.

From the period of the return of the royal family in 1815, the songs, insults, and depredations of 1814 were recommenced. Between the 14th and 17th of July, the plots that had been formed were put in execution. M. Granier was wounded by a musket-shot in the leg. M. M. Alaric, Vincent, and Jourdan, were also wounded. Delon was stabbed in the thigh with a bayonet; and Pinchinat run through the body with a sword, by a drummer of the national

guard. Without authority or reason the p. testants were all disarmed; the white cockade were torn from their persons; and the white flag, which floated on their temple, was insulted. The house of M. Jalaguier was robbed, on the 25th, of two pieces of wine, and all his furniture was either stolen or demolished.

On the 6th of August the catholics made a splendid procession through the town, which continued till the evening, and was succeeded by the plunder of the protestants. Among a great number of houses, those of M. Boisson, negociant, and M. Jaillard (who escaped death by climbing the roof of his house), were entirely pillaged, and the wrecks of their property reduced to ashes, amidst shouts of "*Vive le Roi.*" The most zealous agents belonged to the national guard, and their wives and children assisted them to convey away their spoils. Other protestants were necessitated to pay the sums demanded, as the price of life. The wife of Nicholas, a poor wheel-wright, who had fled, paid 45 francs, which she could only raise by borrowing them of a neighbour. Several of the inhabitants met at the communal-hall, and, to secure the public tranquillity, proposed "that the protestants, according to their numbers, should be enrolled in the national guard." The commandant of the place positively declared, that "they could not be admitted."

On the 9th the country-house of M. Meste was attacked, and himself laid under contribu-

tion. The premises of M. Causse were also invaded, with the intention to commit murder. Several shots were directed at him; but he escaped one kind of death by encountering another, and by throwing himself from the top of a very high wall. M. Mèste was again visited by men with drawn sabres; they demanded his head; an old servant, who was among the assassins, interfered; and his life was granted, on the condition that he gave them 15 louis. The deputy mayor of a neighbouring commune was in this company, and, that a regular partition of the booty might be made, he exchanged the 15 louis for silver money. Between the 20th and 25th, 40 protestants, intimidated, submitted to forced contributions. On the 27th M. Griolet, M. Fludier, and several other protestants, were arrested, beaten, and dragged to prison.

On the arrival of the foreign troops, at *Sommieres*, the pretended search for arms was resumed; those who did not possess muskets were even compelled to buy them on purpose to surrender. Soldiers were quartered on them, at six francs per day, till they produced the articles in demand; that is, till they furnished weapons to their enemies. The protestant temple, which had been closed, was converted into barracks for the Austrians; and on this occasion, the catholics destroyed a great part of the interior, and injured the family of the Concierge, who endeavoured to oppose their inde-

cencies in the pulpit, and in the sacristy. The Miquelets returning from Montpellier, as has been mentioned, committed also shameful outrages. This occurred on the 2d of September; and from that period, scarcely a day passed without arrests — breaking of windows—forcing of doors—nocturnal visits, and spoliation. I shall select only one fact from a multitude. An individual of the name of Montpellerien, sent to inform M. Bonnafet, an excellent and respectable protestant, that if, in the course of the day, he did not receive from him 30 louis, or a given quantity of corn, his house should be rased. M. Bonnafet, in terror, applied to the deputy mayor, who persuaded him to give 200 francs as a composition; and he accordingly paid this sum, in the presence of the deputy, and M. Vidal, who is a member of the municipal council.

Divine service had been suspended for six months. The temple was re-opened at Christmas, and public worship celebrated on the morning of the 24th of December. In order to prevent any accident, the pastor requested the Concierge to examine the belfry, previous to the ringing of the bell; he discovered that some persons had carried off the clapper. As the hour of service approached, a number of men, women, and children collected at the house of M. Ribot, pastor and president of the consistory, and threatened to prevent the worship. At the appointed time, M. Ribot proceeded

towards the temple; he was surrounded; the most savage shouts were raised against him; some of the women seized him by the collar; but nothing could disturb his firmness, or excite him to impatience. The good minister entered the house of prayer; ascended the pulpit; stones entered the windows, and fell among the worshippers; the congregation remained calm and attentive; the religious exercises continued, and were concluded amidst noise, threats, and outrage. On retiring, many of the protestants were attacked, and would have been killed, had not the chasseurs in garrison honorably and zealously protected them. These facts are selected from the original of the *proces verbal*, in which the events are rather mitigated than described. The same day M. Bonnafet, nearly 80 years of age, whose life was exemplary, a zealous protestant, and a member of the consistory, was arrested on the report of two base calumniators, taken to Nismes, and thrown into prison, where several others shared his captivity. Even the premises of M. Ribot, the pastor, were not respected; they ravaged his garden, and filled his well.

Under all these calamities accumulated on the protestants, professedly for their disloyalty and bad conduct, it was some consolation to them, and will afford satisfaction to others, to read the following notes, addressed to M. Ribot, pastor and president of the consistory:

"January 6, 1816.

"It is necessary, Sir, that all good men, who believe in God, unite to obtain the punishment of the assassins, brigands, and disturbers of public tranquillity. I am informed that you have received instructions from government to this effect; and that you intend to read them publicly. You will oblige me by giving me the best information; and by believing in the esteem I feel for you, as a minister, who has always made the pardon of injuries the subject of his preaching.

(Signed) "MARQUIS DE MONTLORD."

"January 2, 1816.

"I deeply lament the prejudices of the *catholics* against the *protestants*, who, they pretend, do not love the king. Continue to act as you have hitherto done, and time and your conduct will convince the catholics of the contrary. Should any tumult occur, similar to the affair of Saturday last, inform me. I preserve my reports of these acts; and if the agitators prove incorrigible, and forget what they owe to the best of kings and the *charter*, I will do my duty and inform the government of their proceedings. Adieu, my dear Sir; assure the consistory of my esteem, and of the sense I entertain of the moderation with which they have met the provocations of the evil-disposed at Sommieres. I have the honour to salute you with respect.

"SUVAL DE LAINE,

"Captain of the Chasseurs d'Angoulême."

This state of things lasted, with little abatement, till the 20th of January, 1816, when the service commemorative of the death of Louis XVI. was observed. A procession was then formed, and the national guards, who composed the cortége, fired at the white flag which was suspended from the windows of the protestants, and the day was finished by the plunder of their houses. At a still later period Alex. Paris, M. Jalaguier, and others were arrested, without even the form of a warrant, or the semblance of authority.

The commune *Anjargues* was particularly fruitful in intolerance and injustice. From the middle of July persecution was violent and undisguised. M. Job. Reboul, a member of the consistory, and M. Damien, were among the first victims, and were obliged to purchase momentary repose by the sacrifice of a large quantity of wine. On the 6th of August, M. Paul Reboul and his son were dragged to Sommieres before the military commandant, and for some time detained in prison. A general levy was made on the protestants on the 30th of the same month. M. Job. Reboul paid 200 francs; M. Damien, besides having his olive-trees destroyed, was obliged to give 100 francs. The catholics were on the point of cutting the throat of Madame d'Antoine, and setting fire to the granaries of her husband, who had emigrated. A considerable number of sheep were taken from Louis Monier. The premises of M. Pierre

Gregoire, a distiller, were broken open; his still was rendered useless; his wine and other effects were taken away; and his son, who had already lost a leg, was shot. In the month of November his distillery was again ravaged, and his apartments were stripped of their furniture; two tuns of wine were also taken from the cellar. On the same night David Gregoire, a manufacturer of brandy, was visited; his copper and utensils were destroyed; and four tuns of wine were staved. The two brothers were thrown into prison; and when they succeeded in effecting their escape, their wives were seized and placed in confinement in their stead. Three brothers, of the name of Crouzet, inhabiting different communes, met one Sunday at their elder brother's house, in Anjargues; while they were at dinner, they were arrested, carried to Nismes, and for a long time detained in prison as felons.

A pistol was discharged at Francis Paul, who, to preserve his life, paid his assassins 100 francs. He, and David Gregoire and his son, were obliged to abandon their families and affairs, though they had ever been loyal to the government, and forward to pay all their taxes. The farm of M. Alberte was overrun, the trees cut down, and even the fish-ponds emptied; and in general, the vines, and especially the olive-trees of the protestants in this commune were entirely destroyed.

In the commune of *Fontanes*, from the entry

of the king in 1815, the catholics broke all terms with the protestants; by day they insulted them, and in the night they broke open their doors, or marked them with chalk, to be plundered or burnt. Their fields were laid waste, and their harvests gathered. In the early part of August, M. Colomb, jun. was obliged to abandon his home, to avoid being massacred. M. Colomb, senr., was also threatened with death if he did not give up his son; and that he might save his life and prevent the destruction of his house, he sacrificed 324 francs, which was all the money he possessed. Sangene, a Garde Champétre, was one of the brigands, and though appointed by government to protect the property of the public, he fired at the servant of M. Colomb, for endeavouring to defend that of his master. François Peyre, brother to the mayor, went to Dame Gebelin, whose husband had fled, and told her, that if in the course of twenty-four hours she did not furnish him with 100 francs, her house should be burnt. The concealment of her husband was discovered. Gebelin was menaced with the same alternative. Terrified, he sent to the mayor, to say, that as he had not so much money, he would give the value in produce. The mayor persuaded his brother to accept this offer; and, accordingly, Gebelin delivered a considerable quantity of saufoin, and 40 francs in money, in the presence of several witnesses.

August the 23d, at 1 o'clock in the morning,

eighty men, armed, entered the dwelling of Pierre Combe, one of the most peaceable of men, under the pretence of authority to arrest him, and threatened to burn his dwelling; his wife at last succeeded in averting bloodshed and conflagration by the sacrifice of 100 francs. On the fête of St. Louis the protestants of this commune were obliged to furnish money for the festivities and orgies of their enemies.

St. Mamert is the chief commune of the canton of that name; and two-thirds of its population profess the reformed religion. Before they were disarmed and overrun by banditti, they were able to restrain the violence of the catholic minority, and preserve public tranquillity. This state of things did not, however, long continue, and they were involved in the calamity common to their brethren.

In the beginning of August the Miquelets from Nismes and Fons made their appearance in considerable numbers. By the order of the mayor they were quartered exclusively on the protestants; and he even aided them in assessing their hosts at the point of the sword. Four hundred francs were given under his directions, by two protestants, M. M. Cabanis and Germain. When the house of M. Roquette was broken open, among other objects, his horse was seized; he purchased it of the person who had appropriated it; and the day after he had paid the money, it was retaken and never restored. The death of M. Gaussen was loudly demanded, and his residence be-

sieged; happily he had fled. Even Madame Gaussen was ignorant of the place of his concealment, or the direction of his flight; but she was threatened with being herself shot, unless her husband was produced. There was but one alternative, and it was adopted. All the money that she possessed, or could borrow, was presented; and in their greediness for gold, the persecutors forgot their thirst of blood. Terror and distress confined the protestants to their homes, where they waited in awful suspense the capricious movements of fanatical fury; the reports of fire-arms; and the sanguinary vociferations of the populace, alone broke the dismal silence.

St. Mamert was repeatedly visited by kindred bands. One night, about 11 o'clock, 100 men entered the place, beating the générale, and announcing a Calvinist massacre; and in the morning they were reinforced from the head-quarters at Nismes. The inhabitants were wantonly and barbarously attacked; Louis Cabanis and Etienne Dumas were shot — both irreproachable as citizens, but guilty of heresy. M. Soubeiran escaped by climbing from roof to roof; his brother and D. Peyre, by wandering in the fields. No protection was offered by the catholics to their fellow-citizens; on the contrary, they seemed rather to applaud than condemn the conduct of the Miquelets.

The protestants attempted to unite with the catholics in celebrating the return of

Louis XVIII. on the fête of the 3d of September; but they were repulsed and pursued, and were doomed to commemorate the restoration of the descendants of Henry IV. by barricading their houses, and secreting their property. "*A bas les Grilleurs, nous ne voulons plus de protestans ; il faut en voir la fin,*" were the ominous expressions of an affected and exclusive loyalty. "I must kill a dozen to my share," exclaimed one; "Show me the heretics I am to kill," cried Roger, a Nismois, who, with a sabre in his hand, and a pair of pistols in his girdle, excited the pious zeal of the friends of the altar and the throne. "He must die before Sunday," declared a third, pointing to the house of the respectable M. Gaussen, who, during five months, was separated from his family, and in danger of his life. Around their bonfire the most horrid songs, and the well-known chorus, animated the dance; and the festival was concluded by a farandole, in which, accompanied by some of the municipal authorities, the people proceeded to the premises of M. Dumas, destroyed his vintage, and rooted up his vines.

Similar crimes and persecutions afflicted the communes of *Combas*, *Crespian*, and *Montmiral*. The houses of the Sieurs Locke, Brune, Dide, Claude Bressac, Francois Bressac, Clement, and of the Widow Blanc, were violently entered, fired into, plundered, and occupied at discretion. Most of the men having fled, their wives were exposed to menaces and extortions, to which

they quietly submitted, in order to prevent the destruction of all their property. Some of the fugitives were secure; others were arrested, and, after long confinement and ruinous expence, declared innocent. Others, as innocent, were still more unfortunate. Among these was Laurent Compan: he was pursued, and murdered in his own fields, and eight hundred francs, which he had taken with him, became the spoil of his assassins.

At *Montmiral*, as lately as the 24th of June, 1816, the protestants were attacked, beaten, and imprisoned, for daring to observe the fête of the return of a king who had sworn to preserve religious liberty, and to maintain the charter.

The catholics of the commune of *Fons* formed themselves into a *soi-disant* national guard; and, under that civic name, set at defiance all the obligations of law, justice, and humanity. The servant of M. Salle, factor, of Nismes, was conveying to Mende, on his own account, four hogsheads of wine. The waggon was stopped, and the wine taken by these national guards to a post established in the centre of the commune, and there licentiously distributed and drank. Six hogsheads, bought by the same person, were also seized; and one was carried to St. Mamert, and divided among the robbers. On the same route is an inn, called "*Les Baraques de Fons*," kept by M. Brun, a protestant. A party of the marauders, one night surrounded the house, and requested refreshment; but no

sooner were they admitted than they demanded 10,000 francs, or the life of their landlord. Brun escaped, and his wife flew to the window to call to her succour a catholic tenant. Her efforts were useless; her neighbour paid no attention to her cries; and, as she was retiring, a musket-ball pierced the shutter, passed close by her head, and entered the wall. Finding herself entirely in the power, and at the mercy of murderers, she purchased her life by the sacrifice of all the money she had in the house, amounting to 2400 francs, or 100 *l.* sterling.

The commune of *St. Beauzely* was the prey of the same outrages. They commenced in July, and, among others, M. Dupont was then robbed of 100 francs, his watch, valuables, and a quantity of cotton, linen, and other articles of merchandise. During the month of August the persecution was dreadful. A party, headed by Montpellerien, of Nismes, went to the mayor, M. Moutet, a protestant not yet displaced, and insisted on 1500 francs. The mayor, to prevent mischief, made a collection among the protestants, and gave them the amount. A few days after, another party appeared, and announced their orders to depose the mayor, and to substitute Jean Guerin, one of their number. They commanded M. Moutet to deliver up his books and papers, and, on pain of instant death, to produce the sum of 10,000 francs. The mayor escaped by leaping out of the window; and his mother saved her life by giving,

at the point of the bayonet, all the money that was in her possession. They then put the village under contribution, and plundered many of the inhabitants. From Pierre Mabrac they took his linen and apparel, that of his wife, and even their stock of provisions; and then broke the furniture, and threw it into the street. The houses of Saurin, Martin, Esaie, Antoine, and Dupont were successively plundered. The son of Dupont was deprived of 675 francs, besides linen, jewellery, &c. The wives of those men who had emigrated were shamefully insulted. Such was the inauguration of the new mayor. Under him these scenes were often repeated; he had neither the character nor the qualifications necessary to this office; but he had replaced M. Moutet, a rich proprietor, whose fault it was that, by principle, he was a protestant. In the November following the *soi disant* national guards of Fons came to *St. Beauzely* to search for some swords, and for three or four muskets, said to be concealed. The inhabitants were obliged to lodge them, and pay them six francs per day; and when the arms could not be found, they levied contributions, and departed.

The commune of *Gajans*, situated on the direct road for the Cevennes, afforded the refugees from Nismes a temporary asylum in their flight. A report was immediately spread that seditious assemblies were collected in the village, and an armed force was sent there, under the command of M. Bernis, which abandoned itself

to every kind of excess. M. Vincent, the pastor, was compelled to flee, and his wife not only to disburse all the cash in her possession, but even to borrow, to satisfy their rapacity. After having paid the ransom of her husband's horse, which they found in the stable, they demanded the saddle and bridle, and, pointing a musket at her breast, threatened her life, if they were not immediately produced. The horse was taken away one quarter of an hour after the payment of the stipulated ransom. The Sieur Gory, mayor of the commune, was treated yet more barbarously. He was made responsible for the hospitality of his fellow-citizens; was robbed of all the money, linen, and portable property that was found in his apartments; was frequently in danger of his life; and, at length, was tied to the tail of his own horse, which was mounted by one of the brigands; and, amidst the reiterated cries of savages demanding his immediate execution, was dragged to Nismes. This commune suffered eight or ten different invasions. Several times Madame Vincent was subjected to exactions. On one occasion Madame Angelras was near being killed, and only escaped by the musket-ball, which was designed for her, striking the lock of the door. The new authorities uniformly left the protestants without protection or redress.

At *Parignargues*, the disorders were as alarming and oppressive as at Gajans.

In the end of July, armed men established

themselves in the commune, and without the slightest opposition from the authorities, levied sums at discretion on the protestant population. Tarisson, Valette, Soulier, Sabatery, Bouvely, Therou and Bruguieres, were all compelled to gratify the most extortionate demands. Bruguieres was even forced, with the privity of the mayor, to carry a hogshead of wine to a post of *soi disant* Royal troops, at the entrance of Nismes.

In August this persecution was renewed. Five different invasions, exhausted the resources, and distracted the spirits of the people. In September, a party headed by a schoolmaster, required Sabatery, a protestant, to act as their assessor, and accompany them while they went to rob his brethren; in case of refusal, they denounced vengeance. The money of the protestants did not satisfy the intruders, but they were condemned to furnish provisions for their oppressors, who had possession of the Communal Hotel. The national guards, who assisted at the installation of a new assistant, or deputy-mayor, on the 12th of November, shamefully interrupted the protestant worship. The worshippers, as they arrived, saw muskets and bayonets placed at their breasts. During divine service, the balls whizzed over their heads, and entered the roof and the walls of their temple, and amidst their prayers and praises, were heard the horrid and discordant sounds of "*Sarre les Grilleurs*," (kill the protestants;)

"*Vive le Roi.*" The same events occurred as at St. Mamert, on the fête of the return of the king.

The protestants of the commune of *Montpezat* were not more tranquil than those in other parts of the same canton; but as the details of their vexations are similar, and too numerous to record, the case of one individual only is selected.

M. Compan, the farmer of a considerable domain, was so cruelly persecuted, that for a long time, he could not venture to sleep in his own house, and was frequently obliged to pass whole nights in wandering from place to place. At length he made the experiment; he was immediately attacked, and had only time to save himself by gaining the roof, where he lay extended till the return of day favoured his escape. By these sufferings, and by constant vigilance, he avoided assassination; but the hatred of the catholics was so inveterate, that in the summer of the following year, (1816), they set fire to his threshing floor, and consumed stacks containing many thousand bushels of the finest grain.

In the canton of St. Mamert, and throughout the arrondissement of Nismes, almost every protestant who held office was displaced, and there was not one of whatever rank or reputation, but was disarmed. Mayors were appointed who had neither talent, property, nor character; and adjuncts who could neither read nor write.

The Gardes Champêtres, named by the municipality, were themselves members. Men who paid no taxes, levied the contributions; and those who had nothing to lose, and every thing to gain by disorder, composed entirely the public force, and were the persons selected to maintain tranquillity.

ARRONDISSEMENT OF UZES.

Immediately after the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, a party was formed at *Uzes*, professedly for the support of religion and loyalty; but really inspired by the most mean and hateful passions. Some of the leaders of this party were of the old privileged orders — most of them had served the emperor Napoleon — and several had signalised themselves in the revolutionary committee, and even added to their family name, that of the infamous Marat. The persecution and the ruin of the protestants was a prominent part of the plan of these associates. They calculated on the acquisition of their property, and the usurpation of their influence; and on the recommendation which their success would form to a family, which had been formerly closely connected with "the friends of the altar and the throne."

They began their operations by calumniating them as factious Bonapartists; and that the powerful lever of religious fanaticism might be also at their command, they excited

against them the prejudices of the catholic populace. There was no longer either security or tranquillity for protestants, however liberal or loyal; but they were constantly exposed to the insults and menaces of "the people," emboldened by the silence and inaction of the magistrates. The declaration of Louis XVIII. was despised; and "*point de Constitution,*" was placarded in the streets, and in the Cafés. The council general of the commune publicly expressed by resolutions its opposition to the charter; and at a fête, or rather an orgie, summoned for the purpose, a copy of the compact between the king and the nation was solemnly burnt.

The return of Napoleon, and the flight of Louis, suspended the progress of the persecution. All at once, the fanatics and their leaders, retired behind the scenes, and the local authorities became alarmed for the consequences which their misconduct might now produce. When General Gilly marched through Uzes, on his way to Pont St. Esprit, he calmed the public feeling, and four gendarmes were found sufficient to preserve social order in the town. But in the end of June 1815, the agitation recommenced with increased violence; "the people" were again in motion, and again excited and directed by the same individuals. Nightly meetings were held at a house called La Perine, situated outside the town, and the principal catholics and their agents, men capable of every crime,

discussed and adopted the plans to be pursued. A committee was also organized, and publicly sanctioned by the municipality.

The news of the battle of Waterloo was the signal for action: On the 2d of July, a procession was formed, and the white flag was hoisted, though the national colours were still acknowledged throughout the Gard, and the neighbouring departments. The white flag was not raised at Nismes till the 16th.

The leaders immediately seized the power, and established the royal government; not with dignity and respect; but with the utmost indecency and disorder. The existing authorities ceded their places without resistance, to individuals unworthy, and self-appointed. The protestants, composing a part of the national guard, did not attempt any defence of the national colours; but on the contrary, evinced a disposition to range themselves under the new standard. Conciliation was useless; they were repulsed, and threats of imprisonment and death compelled some to seclude themselves in their houses, and others to flee into the neighbouring communes. Agents were sent express the same day into the catholic districts, and as far as Provence, to circulate reports of the destruction of the churches, and the murder of the priests by the protestants, and to demand assistance. Crowds of villagers arrived the next morning, armed with sabres, guns, forks, and hatchets; and uniting with the city mob, they spread

themselves in the principal quarters of the town, mingling sanguinary vociferations with shouts of "*Vive le Roi.*" They were divided into companies by a permanent committee, and suffered to indulge the greatest licentiousness, and to exercise an arbitrary controul. With the protestants they lodged at discretion, and were authorised to require, daily, six or ten francs. Under pretence of raising a fund for the support of this self-formed militia, the protestants were further taxed in the most capricious manner; and the armed men, already quartered on them, were employed to enforce the payment. The committee only replied, by sneers and threats, to the complaints that were made of the vexations, and prodigality of the soldiery.

In the meantime an alarm reached the Gardonnenque, that the catholics, who were pouring into Uzès, had prepared a general massacre. The peasants flew to arms; abandoned their fields and vineyards, and assembled at Arpaillargues, in order to proceed to the relief of their persecuted brethren. Fewer in number than the catholics, they were superior in intelligence and in moral force; and continued injuries had goaded them to resentment. The crisis was dreadful; a horrid slaughter might immediately take place, and ultimately, the whole south of France become a field of carnage. The municipal council assembled in the night, and resolved to send deputies to Arpaillargues, with an assurance of the retreat of the catholics from Uzès, and an

injunction to the protestant peasantry, to return peaceably to their homes. M. Roux, pastor of the reformed church of Uzès, was one of the principal members of the deputation.

The assemblage at Arpaillargues at length agreed not to advance beyond that commune; but it was on the pledge of the deputies, that the catholics should not molest the protestants, nor trespass beyond their own line of occupation: both parties were to wait intelligence from Paris.

Having secured the inaction of the protestants of the *country*, the catholics of Uzès began, in direct opposition to the convention, to disarm the protestants in the *town*; that on the commencement of hostilities, they might not be able to join their deliverers, but remain at the mercy of their foes. They entered by force all the houses they thought proper; some were searched several times; persons who had no arms were compelled to purchase from the assailants, muskets or pistols, which had just been taken from their friends, on purpose to give them up; and even those who had surrendered their arms, were obliged to repurchase them, at arbitrary prices, and immediately restore them. The *Gendarmerie* was dissolved and recomposed; that is to say, the brigade on duty was robbed of horses, clothes, and arms, and replaced by a body of men, undisciplined, and unprincipled, and to a great extent self-elected. Instead of preserv-

ing order, or establishing a vigilant police, they set the example of outrage and rapine.

In addition to all these violations of the treaty, many individuals were personally injured; and the advanced posts even fired on three inhabitants who were returning from Arpaillargues, where they had been on a mission from the mayor. The arm of M. Boissiere was broken, and M. Praden with difficulty preserved his life. Finally, though the territory of Arpaillargues was declared inviolable, three men were sent to reconnoitre the position and the movements of the peasantry. The object of their expedition was concealed, but their hostility was evident. They were armed with sabres and blunderbusses, and mounted on the horses belonging to the gendarmerie. Two of them, Coulon and Mouton, were arrested and conducted into the village; and the third, Nicholas, a garde-champetre, but now raised to the command of the gendarmerie, was recognized as possessing the horse, arms, and accoutrements of an ex-gendarme: he was struck by a musket ball which produced a mortal wound. All the wrongs were on the side of the troops, or the rabble of Uzès; but the moment they received intelligence of the death of one of their party, sent to Arpaillargues in violation of a treaty, they set out to avenge, what they called, treachery and murder. The chiefs were however alarmed at the firm and imposing attitude of their antagonists; and fearing the result of

an engagement, they returned to Uzès. M. Roux, the pastor, accompanied by M. Tessier, the sub-prefect, who had arrived from Nismes, went again to Arpaillargues. They found the peasants increased in numbers, full of indignation, and prepared to march at sun-rise on Uzès, and decide their fate by an appeal to arms. The deputation, assisted by M. Olivier, the pastor, represented to them the miseries and dangers of civil conflict; the determination of general Gilly to avoid, if it were possible, all offensive warfare; and the propriety of confining themselves to a system of defence within their own territory. They succeeded in calming the agitation, and disposing all minds to patience and tranquillity.

After the complete establishment of the power of the catholic royalists in the department, M. Penarier was charged with having fired the shot which occasioned the death of Nicholas. His innocence is certain; but the juries who acquitted Trestaillons, Quatretaillons, and Truphémy, were capable of his condemnation. He was executed at Nismes, and attended to the guillotine by two of the pastors, M.M. Tachard and Vincent. He suffered with resignation to the will of God, and in the exercise of Christian confidence. His wife died of chagrin, after a few months, and his three orphan children were chargeable to the courts, to the amount of 1200 francs, to which their father had been condemned.

The time that intervened between the re-

sumption of the white flag at Uzès, and the arrival of the royal commissioners, was passed in confusion and revolution. M. Robernier occupied at once the places of mayor and sub-prefect. A new national guard, under the title of royal, was organized; and M. Vogué established himself at Uzès as inspector. Protestants were uniformly excluded; but catholics, though paupers, and even of the most infamous character, were instantly enrolled. To clothe these persons, the protestants were obliged to give up their uniforms; and the catholics went unblushingly into their shops, and cut from pieces of cloth as much as they chose for their dress, without any payment being either offered or demanded.

It would require a volume to record the sufferings of the inhabitants, both of the town and the villages; but some estimate of the state of terror and disorder may be formed by the following circumstance. M. Bastide, a shop-keeper, had been obliged to flee, and his property was so frequently and so heavily plundered, that poverty and ruin seemed inevitable, even if life were preserved. Madame Bastide sunk into a dreadful state of depression, and her friends were alarmed for her reason. Her devoted pastor, M. Roux, paid her frequent visits; endeavoured to soothe her distress; directed her view to the providence of God; and presented to her the promises of his holy word, and all those considerations which are cal-

culated to fortify the mind, and produce faith and resignation. His efforts appeared to be effectual, and, on his last visit, she promised, and seemed really disposed to hope for better times, and repose on the Divine Goodness for deliverance from present calamity. M. Roux rejoiced in the comfort and amendment of his charge, and retired with a degree of pleasure, too rare, amidst the scenes which he had every moment to witness. Scarcely had he left the house, on his way home, when he heard behind him an increasing tumult, and the violent repetition of his name. He turned;—it was the family of M. Bastide, who pursued him. No sooner had he left the house than the calmness of his friend was followed by terror. She thought the murderers were coming in quest of her husband, and, in a fit of despair, the unhappy woman rushed from her apartment, and precipitated herself into a well. The pastor returned to weep with those who wept; and, suppressing his own horror at the violent death of an innocent and affectionate wife, he exerted himself to console the bereaved, and to quell their indignation against the authors of such extensive miseries.

Nothing can more effectually display the bad faith and profligacy of the persecuting faction, and the utter falseness of the charges exhibited against the protestants, than the appointment and conduct of the principal magistrate. M. Vallabrix had been sub-prefect for several years under the emperor; but on

the first restoration he retained his situation, and permitted the evils which afflicted the protestants in 1814. The return of his old master rendered a second change necessary. It is a fact, of which I can guarantee the truth, that when General Gilly passed through Uzès, M. Vallabrix entreated him to solicit the emperor to continue him in the sub-prefecture, and assured the General that he would serve his imperial majesty with the greatest zeal and integrity. He afterwards obtained the honour, from some of the communes, to appear as their deputy at the Champ du Mai: but, in spite of all his intrigues, he lost his place. The first act of the *royal* commissioners was to appoint this very man sub-prefect of Uzès. It is, therefore, evident, that it was neither a royalist nor an upright magistrate, but an unprincipled agent, that they wished to prefer to the local government; and it is as evident, that, in denouncing and pursuing the protestants, as Buonapartists, the sub-prefect was acting with the basest hypocrisy, and commending himself to his employers by his zeal in promoting a known and an infamous conspiracy. This deputy to the Champ du Mai signalized his restoration by an order to disarm the protestants *en masse*, as enemies of the Bourbons. The arrété of the Duke d'Angoulême enjoined the disarming of *fédérés*. In Uzès there had not been even a project of federation; but that was of no consequence; the unarmed could not defend themselves, and the sub-pre-

fect was not accustomed to take counsel, either of law or justice. His conduct on the 30th of July prepared the public for the subsequent cruelty and illegality of his government. On that day, at noon, the house of the widow Bedos was assailed and devastated. A neighbour, who lived opposite M. Vallabrix's residence, observing the destruction of the property of an unprotected female, took his gun, and set out to endeavour to arrest the mischief, or lessen the evil. The sub-prefect saw him, and from his balcony enquired where he was going. "They are destroying the house of Madame Bedos, yonder." "Go back," cried the magistrate; "that does not concern you; mind your own business." It was under such auspices that the royal cause was to be established in the arrondissement of Uzès, and in the South of France.

Each day was more terrible than the last, till the third of August arrived. Graffan, called by his associates Quatretaillons, as surpassing in cruelty and crime the celebrated Dupont alias Trestaillons of Nismes, then collected his band, and committed all possible kinds of outrage. He set the example by firing at a person named Mangonier, who was sitting quietly in his shop. Happily he missed his aim; but M. Flautier, terrified at this wanton and deliberate murder, ran to the top of his house, and, endeavouring to escape by a window, fell into the court and broke his leg.

Immediately after, a shot, fired by another of the party, in Rue Mas-Bourguet, occasioned the instant death of a catholic workman, named Pascal; and an alarm was given that a protestant was the murderer, and that all the catholics were to be killed. The street was almost entirely inhabited by catholics; but one of the sons of M. Meynier, a baker and a protestant, was selected, as the author of the assassination. It was known at the moment, that the person who had fired was a catholic; that the families of Meynier and Pascal lived on the very best terms of friendship; that Meynier was a man of quiet habits; and that he never interfered with political affairs; that the son of Meynier had never been seen to a fire a musket; and that all the protestants were disarmed. But the truth was concealed; and an immense crowd was permitted, or rather induced, to assemble and commence hostilities.

The *generale* was beaten; "the people" ran to arms; cartridges were distributed with profusion; every measure of alarm was adopted; but not the slightest effort was made to inform and appease the irritated populace. On the contrary, at night, the mayor ordered the doors to be closed, and all the windows to be illuminated, as though he were determined that the wicked should not be impeded even by the darkness, nor the miserable find an opportunity for escape.

The house of M. Meynier was the first object

of attack; and in a moment it was forced and filled. The eldest son, apprenticed to another baker, was absent; but the father and his youngest son fell under a thousand blows from sabres and bayonets. The respectable old man was soon beyond the reach of cruelty, and the possibility of suffering. The son was only mangled; and they threw him, still living, from the second story into the street. As if to reproach his murderers, nature maintained the struggle, and for some hours the lad survived this mode of death. At length, in order "to finish him," they stabbed him in the street, and his corpse remained on the spot till the middle of the next day. Unrestrained pillage followed the murder. The innocence of Meynier is now universally acknowledged; the friendship of the families was never interrupted; the father of Pascal has publicly denounced the real murderer of his son; and nothing but apprehension of the consequences to himself and his family has prevented him from executing his declared design of bringing before the tribunals a wretch, not only guilty of the death of a Pascal, but also of those of the unfortunate Meyniers.

Alas! neither innocence, nor age, nor sex, was capable of arresting or softening the destroyers of the heretics. In the same street they tore the wife of Roche from her husband, and put her to death. The widower was blind,

and entirely dependant on the exertions of his wife for his comfort and support.

Another female, named Julian, they massacred on the stair-case, and her corpse they dragged into the street, where it was exposed to the outrages of a brutal populace till the next afternoon. In the course of their career, they entered the house of M. Court. He was seventy years of age, and had been a paralytic for nine years. It was intended to lead him out, and shoot him in the street; but finding it was impossible to make him walk, they murdered him in his chamber. He was a grocer, and all his stock and furniture were plundered and destroyed. These goods comprised nearly all his property, and there remained nothing for his children; two of whom had served their country as conscripts, and one had lost an arm in the battle of Wagram.

The house of M. Roux being detached, was set on fire. Madame Roux and Madame Rousel had only time to save themselves by scaling, in a state of nudity, the walls of their gardens.

Every quarter presented similar spectacles of plunder, conflagration, and murder. At midnight an immense mass was in possession of the whole town: men of property headed the devastators; and those who had shared in the bloody scenes of 1793 were in full activity. Sappers of the national guard preceded the bands: they knocked formally at the doors and

gates of the houses destined to be pillaged; and if they were not opened, they proceeded to demolish them, and let in the overwhelming scourge. Such systematic rapine appears incredible; but it is too certain. Forty houses or magazines were sacked in the course of twenty-four hours. The sappers assisted in breaking in pieces the furniture, and throwing it into carts, which followed the bands from place to place. The whole was collected on the esplanade, and burnt under the windows of the celebrated M. Vallabrix, the sub-prefect. Around these fires, the savages danced to the cries of "*Vive la Croix!*" "*Vivent les Bourbons!*" and, by the light of the flames, the protestants who had escaped death in their houses fled for refuge to the woods and fields. The weight of the storm fell on the middling and poorer classes of protestants. The rich, having better information, had gradually withdrawn, and removed or secreted their most valuable effects. When the signal for attack was given, those who remained sought an asylum with catholics, on whom they thought they might depend. Some welcomed and protected them; but, in general, they were either repulsed, or required to pay dearly for a momentary shelter, and afterwards turned out, on pretence of public orders not to conceal either protestants or their property. *

The report of a new St. Bartholomew was not

* The following list of some of the houses plundered, in

a vain threat. The catholics avowed, and the reformed expected, the repetition of that dreadful

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different streets, may serve to illustrate both the quality of the sufferers and the universality of the oppression.

Names	Streets
M. M. Meynier, baker,	Rue du Mas Bourguet.
Roche, proprietor,	
Castillion, widow, corn-dealer,	
Rouset, glazier,	
Julien, stocking-maker,	
Bresson, retired officer,	
Roucante, labourer,	
Roux, Jeremie, proprietor,	
Lauret, baker,	Plan des Capucins.
Benoit, dealer in wine,	
Praden, druggist,	Marché du Samedi.
Saucon, shoe-maker,	
Delafond, clerk to the Tribunal,	Dougue.
Arnaud, shop-keeper,	
Lavergne, coffee-house,	
Bedos, widow, proprietor,	
Lafont, proprietor,	
Desplau, retired officer,	
Joseph, grocer,	Place Bourbon.
Cabane, inn-keeper,	Bourgades.
Prudent, grocer,	
Berton, inn-keeper,	
Teissier, proprietor,	Rue Massargues.
Rostain, pastry-cook,	
Petit, stocking-maker,	
Pascal, butcher,	
Court, grocer,	Place St. Etienne.
Roux, widow, proprietor,	
Verdier, stocking-maker,	Triperie.
Ribot, brother of the pastor of Sommieres *,	
Lombard, son of the pastor of St. Chaptes†,	

Many more houses were equally devastated, both within and without the barriers ; and some were set on fire.

* M. Ribot was afterwards shot by Quatretaillons, at the massacre of the prison.

† M. Lombard was deprived of his office, and imprisoned during nine months.

tragedy. At midnight M. Thedenat, commissary of police, went to the prison, and ordered the liberation of Gautier, a catholic; but he informed the gaoler that the other prisoners were to be shot the next morning; and that if any escaped he should answer for them with his own head. The dismal intelligence was communicated to the prisoners; and one of them wrote to the commandant, and demanded his liberty. The officer refused to read the letter; but gave orders that the execution should take place the next morning, at ten o'clock. The gaoler applied to the commandant for a written order to deliver the prisoners. "A verbal direction is sufficient," he replied: "besides, in a revolution the people govern; and you may do as you please; but I shall not risk my life." When the failure of this mission was announced, it was difficult to discover, whether the tenants of the dungeon or its keeper, were the most afflicted. This strange fact threw a gleam of light and comfort on the horror and darkness of the scene. How vain the prejudices and calculations of society! The prisoners, in their misery, found an intercessor in their gaoler; and the only heart that was accessible to justice and humanity was that from which, by common consent, it was supposed all sense of sympathy and equity was banished. Cut off from every hope, the innocent, condemned without trial and without authority, threw themselves on their knees, implored the pardon of their sins,

and the support of their heavenly Father, and awaited, with calmness and resignation, their unjust but certain doom. Precisely at ten o'clock a troop of monsters, armed with sabres and muskets, and headed by the terrible Quatretaillons, presented themselves, and demanded their victims. The gaoler, at this moment, displayed the firmness of a virtuous man: he refused to admit one of them without a written order. They persisted in their demands and threats; and at length he accompanied four of the authorized assassins to the residence of the commandant. Nothing could induce the authorities to sign a written document; and the gaoler was obliged to obey a verbal order, given in the presence of the agents, and return and surrender to the hands of murderers the innocent inhabitants of his cells. To protract and increase the miseries of the sufferers, and to gratify their own love of cruelty, their executioners summoned them in pairs. They first ordered out two, tied their hands, and marched them in triumph to the Esplanade; and, amidst a hundred insults, shot them to the cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*A bas les Protestans!*" They returned, and conducted two more to the same spot; showed them the bleeding and dead bodies of their friends, and then deliberately murdered them. A third formal procession was graced by the two remaining victims, who had already suffered more than death, in the slow approach of exe-

cution, and a torturing separation from com-
unhappy companions.
These infamous processions passed appoint-
the streets where centinels were posted, *xcellence,*
soi disant national guards were under arr corpses
to have offered the slightest opposition One of
der, would have been a crime against th indulged
and the throne." By a refinement of infamous
the unfortunate prisoners were obliged ous dead.
and receive their death, on the still M. Ribot,
ashes of the spoils which had been ted a pair
the night before. To complete the it up by
racter of the transaction, the whole wa *ois venir*
trated before the house of that M. Va they
now sub-prefect, who had entreated General
Gilly to intercede for him with the emperor, and was a deputy to the *Champ du Mai.* His balcony commands the small space called the Esplanade; and it is even said, that he was seen at intervals, inspecting the proceedings of "the people." At all events, it is certain that he took no interest, offered no impediment, exercised no authority for the preservation of six individuals, illegally and inhumanly murdered. One of the persons shot, M. Bechard, was a magistrate, and mayor of the commune of Dion. Another, M. Ribot, sixty years of age, had only returned to Uzès from emigration, on the faith of the proclamations issued by the prefect and M. Vidal, commissary of police, inviting fugitives to return, and promising protection to persons and property. A third, M. Amanlier, a fugi-

and awaite of Nismes, had been violently arrested, unjust d lost part of his hand by the outrages of o'clock ilants. After having been thrown into and mus he was declared innocent of any charge, taillons, set at liberty; but, on the instance of their vict x, the pastor, and other friends, he re- played th n prison, lest his life should be taken fused to anditti. Alas! innocence was o pro- order. T and friendship had to weep over threats; ar ovidence of its prudent calculations. the author lier was shot.

command rison still contained two persons who ties to sig t included in the destined number; the was ob for blood was only increased by grati- ication; and the murderers made another pro- cession to the gaol, to obtain possession of all who remained. To the honour of M. Pigeon, the gaoler, he again placed himself between death and the dungeon. " My order," said he, " only extended to six. If you still want blood you may kill me; but you shall not violate the cells on which my hand has turned the key." Again he became the advocate of the innocent, in the presence of the commandant. " These persons," said he, " are in the hands of justice; they have been proceeded against, and they ought to wait the issue; their death would be a crime against the authority of the tribunal, as well as against justice and humanity." The commandant was silent; the eloquence of the gaoler triumphed, and the prisoners were per-

mitted to live, and finally were declared completely innocent.

To console themselves for their disappointment, the catholics and royalists *par excellence*, returned to the Esplanade to insult the corpses which were still stretched on the place. One of the most active; Robert, after having indulged his cruelty in slaughter, aspired to the infamous distinction of bantering the unconscious dead. He raised the bloody corpse of M. Ribot, placed it in a kneeling attitude, adjusted a pair of spectacles on the nose, and holding it up by the hair, exclaimed, "*Regardez si tu vois venir tes brigands de la Gardonenque.*" After they had rifled and stripped the bodies, they dragged them to the end of the Esplanade, and threw them into a field considerably lower than the walk of the terrace. In this situation they remained several hours, without sepulture. The order was, at length, given for their interment; a hole was dug in the field; the six carcases were thrown in; but so superficially covered with mould, that the dogs and the birds of prey devoured the carrion; and it was necessary, for the comfort of the living, to heap a little more earth on the remains of the dead. I saw the place of sepulture; it was only distinguished by a trifling elevation of the surface; and the peculiar richness and verdure of the herbage. I stood also on the spot where the blood of the protestants was shed, and their property was consumed; the inhabitants imagine that they

can discover foul stains which never can be effaced, but the circle only was evident; the fire had left at least a blackness, descriptive of the moral character of those by whom it had been enkindled.

Scarcely were these shocking crimes achieved, when the municipality, in a general council, determined to raise a pecuniary indemnification for the widow and the family of Pascal; and to place under contribution the protestants who had not fled, and who had not been entirely plundered. This requisition was proposed, as likely to calm the people; and at the same time sanction the report, that the death of Pascal had been inflicted by a protestant. A committee was appointed, and 30,000 francs were easily procured, from a population in consternation and despair.* The sums demanded were declared to be the price of safety. Madame Roussel, who, the night before, had been abandoned of all her family, paid 2000 francs; and out of the 30,000, not more than that number came into the possession of the family of Pascal. The situation of some of the commissioners, since that period, explains the appropriation of the rest. The committee, at length, ashamed of their occupation, relinquished the collection; but one of their number, M. Fabre, a surgeon, associating with himself,

* This committee consisted of M.M. D'Anglas, colonel; Fabre, surgeon; Devéze, advocate; Deroche, naval captain; Rafin; St. Ange Amoreux, &c. &c.

others of his own nomination, recommenced the assessment with more vexation and rapacity than ever. This example was followed by a great number of individuals, who obtained by force or threats, money, or legal obligations for all sorts of fictitious objects, and under all sorts of iniquitous pretences. Madame Roussel, who had already paid 2000 francs, was required by a person named Chrétien, in presence of M. Sylvain, a notary, to give a promissory note for 1200 francs, on the pretext that his father had received from her late husband the payment of a debt to that amount in assignats. * A tribunal has since decided the scandalous affair in favour of Madame Roussel. M. Hugues was made debtor for 600 francs, and the partner of M. Verdier de Flos for 1800. It is impossible to state the number or the extent of these attacks, subversive of all justice and social order; they continued long, and were carried to an inconceivable excess. Some idea of the different kinds of vexations may be formed from the following instance, which is not of the most aggravated description. Two Nismois went to M. Simeon, a goldsmith, at Uzès, and, with arms in their hands, demanded 1200 francs; assigning as a reason, that when they had lodged with him, some time before, he had stolen their watch. M. Simeon, whose character placed him

* M. Roussel had always been rich; and the family of Chretien always poor.

above suspicion, applied to the judge of the peace. "It is true," said the judge, "that the demand is unjust and vexatious; but, for the sake of peace, give them at least 200 francs." In addition to all these calamities, the domains of all the protestants, in the country, were more or less ravaged; the vines and olives were rooted up, and the houses burnt; the disposable property was formally carried off in carts, and on mules and horses, stolen from the proprietors of the estates.

The persecution of M. Lombard merits particular notice. His house, one of the largest and handsomest in Uzès, was sacked from top to bottom; and his pavilion, and enclosure without the barriers, were as completely pillaged. At the commencement of the troubles, M. Lombard had retired with his young family, to a country-house inhabited by his father, the venerable pastor of St. Chaptes; but the arm of destruction reached this humble abode of filial love and piety, and the family assembled, by misfortune, were obliged to seek the safety of their lives in separation and flight. After wandering several days and nights in the woods and fields, the children, and their aged grand-father sinking with age, infirmity, and affliction, found an asylum among the neighbouring villages; while M. Lombard himself sought refuge in the mountains of the Cevennes. Here, at the instigation of the sub-prefect, he was immediately arrested, taken to Nismes, thrown into prison, and, with-

out any mandate of arrest, without being examined, or even entered in the gaoler's book, detained there *nine* months. By dint of solicitation, he obtained his liberty in May 1816; or rather, he was permitted to leave the gaol, on condition that he was placed under the disgraceful surveillance of the police; a condition which was not relaxed till the period of the abrogation of the law of the 29th of October, 1815.

During his imprisonment, the harvest of M. Lombard was exposed to the most complete and scandalous pillage; and even the gardes champêtres publicly assisted the plunderers to load their horses and carts with the produce of his fields and vineyards. At the same time, contributions and arbitrary taxes were levied on him at Uzès, where he had neither house nor property that had not been ravaged. Ransoms were continually required of his family, scattered in the villages, by licensed brigands; and his venerable father was overwhelmed with injuries which caused his death. To complete the wickedness of this persecution, after the loss of liberty and fortune, M. Lombard was deprived of his professional employment as clerk to the tribunal, the only means by which he could hope to replace his family in some of those comforts of which they had been so unjustly and cruelly deprived.

Uzès was still destined to be the theatre of events as tragical as any it had hitherto exhibited. On the 25th of August, M. Vallabrix, the sub-

prefect, dispatched Graffan, alias Quatretaillons, to the commune of Euset, a district beyond his own jurisdiction, and belonging to the arrondissement and sub-prefecture of Alais, under pretence of dispersing an armed and rebellious assembly. This illegal and extraordinary mission, was ordered at the moment that Trestaillons marched at the head of his bands, into the Gardonenque; and the chasseurs of Vezenobre arrived at Ners. The pretended rebels were the national guards of the sub-prefecture of Alais, who had been commanded to maintain, every night, posts in every commune on the confines of the arrondissemens of Uzès and Nismes, on purpose to watch against the approach of the bands who infested those districts. In conformity with those orders, the greatest tranquillity had been maintained since the re-establishment of the royal government. Quatretaillons and his company arrived at the village of St. Maurice, in the night; and the sentinel perceiving the arms of several of the foremost, cried "*qui vive;*" a discharge of musketry replied to his enquiry, and deprived him of his life. The heroic Graffan immediately rushed on the post, and seized six of the national guards, who were peaceably and honourably fulfilling a prescribed and important duty. With such celerity was the attack made, and the prey secured, that the victims were far from the spot ere the inhabitants were apprized; and it was then too late to attempt their deliverance. Arrived at Montaren, a village on the road,

Graffan prepared to shoot his prisoners, without further trouble or delay, and was with difficulty dissuaded from the massacre; but in the heat of discussion with the principal inhabitants, who opposed the pollution of their soil by so foul a murder, Providence permitted the passions of the wretched agent to make a revelation which it would have been impossible, otherwise, to have obtained. To prove his authority, and justify his cruelty, he exhibited his written orders, and exposed the parties under whom he acted. The prisoners gained only a few miserable hours: they were marched in triumph to Uzès, and arranged in order of sacrifice on the celebrated Esplanade. The arbiter of their destiny left them for a few minutes; he went to the residence of M. Vallabrix, the sub-prefect, whose windows commanded the Esplanade, to report the success of his mission, and to demand further instructions. *These instructions* were not written; but Graffan reported, without hesitation or reserve, the laconic decision of the magistrate. "Do as you please," said he, "they are in your power, and were taken with arms in their hands." The pleasure of Quatretaillons may be easily imagined; he found himself once more beneath the balcony of a sub-prefect; the scene of his former exploits inspired his zeal; and in a few minutes, without the slightest formality, or the semblance of guilt, in open day—and amidst a crowd of spectators—*six protestants* were massacred on the spot, which, three weeks

before, had been saturated with the blood of prisoners taken from the cells: Thus perished M.M. Mejean, Pascal, Bougarel, Gollier, Mazel, and Gilles." The bodies of malefactors are restored to their families, and allowed, at least, a coffin; but those of respectable citizens, after receiving numerous indignities, were thrown into a hole, in the same field which concealed the remains of others already murdered. No friend or relative was near to perform the last offices of affection. The widows, and twenty-two orphans," deplore the loss of husbands and fathers, suddenly snatched from their embrace, and basely massacred.

Terrible as were these calamities, and though the conduct of Graffan was designed to favour other attacks on the peasantry of the Gardonnenque, the protestants were doomed to bear all the odium of disloyalty, incivism, and rebellion. An official journal, published at Nismes, on the 30th of August, under the inspection and censure of the prefect, contained the following statement: — "Our details are taken from particular information, on the authenticity of which we can rely. M., the sub-prefect of Uzès, informed, in the morning of the 26th, of the existence of a camp of rebels at d'Yeuzet, ordered Sieur Graffan, called Quatretaillons, to march and observe the assembly. That *officer* set out immediately, with a detachment of thirty men, and was soon in presence of the rebels. Though inferior in numbers, he attacked them with asto-

nishing intrepidity, dispersed them, took six prisoners, and conducted them to Uzès. There they were convicted of having been taken in rebellion, with arms in their hands, and were instantly shot."

The whole of this statement was false and mischievous. It was on the 25th, and not on the 26th, that Graffan was dispatched; and his mission, therefore, preceded, instead of being occasioned, by the troubles of Ners. The protestants of St. Maurice were so far from being rebels against the royal authority; that they wore the white cockade, and acted as national guards, under the orders of a sub-prefect, appointed by the king. Instead of being superior in force to the assailants, they did not amount to half their number. No account is given of the murder of one of the protestants on duty, before the departure of the prisoners for Uzès. The six prisoners were so far from being convicted, that they were not even examined by any tribunal, civil or military.

False as was this statement, it received the sanction of the government, and was allowed to circulate, till the sub-prefect contradicted so much as implicated his conduct, and that of his colleagues.

On the 2d of September a letter was published in the official journal, to exculpate the authorities from the charge of participation in the crimes of Quatretaillons.

"In the journal of the 30th, there has been in-

serted an article, containing a very incorrect account of the events which occurred at Uzès on the 26th. It is not true that the Sieur Graffan, commonly called Quatretaillons, is an officer of the national guard, nor has he the honor even to belong to that corps. It is not true that the sub-prefect gave orders to Graffan to reconnoitre an assemblage collected at Yeuzet. The *sortie* of Graffan and his band was *purely tolerated* by the civil and military authorities, to spare Uzès the renewal of the horrors with which it was threatened. This *sortie* would have been a real benefit for the town, had not the return of Graffan again polluted it with blood.

"It is not true that the prisoners taken by Graffan have been convicted of rebellion. They were *purely* and *simply* shot on their arrival at Uzès, without the knowledge of the authorities; and we engage to prove, to demonstration, the truth of these assertions in the next number of the journal." *

This letter, artfully constructed, did not, however, answer the purpose of the writer. It made some important confessions, but did not correct the most flagrant falsehoods; and though it surrendered Graffan to public opinion, it did not rescue the sub-prefect, as he intended, from the execration of all

* The editor of the journal adds, "*Article communique.*" The pledge contained in the last paragraph was never redeemed.

good citizens. Graffan had unfortunately shewn his instructions to the inhabitants of Mantaren; and even without that evidence, the most ignorant individuals could reason on the events. "Why," they asked, "did Graffan march on that point, and at that time? Why did he select, as the objects of attack, persons whom he did not know, whom he had never seen, and from whom no booty was obtained? Why did he convey his prisoners to the Esplanade, rather than to prison, or to the commandant? Why did he communicate with the sub-prefect of Uzès; on his return from an excursion into another arrondissement, and after committing murder within the government of the sub-prefect of Alais? Why was he unrestrained in his ferocity, proud of his crimes, and confident of impunity?" The answer to these questions was not difficult. Graffan was employed and protected by persons in power. They might find it convenient to throw on him the guilt of their conduct; he had no reputation to lose; and further than this, he was satisfied they would not, and dared not, proceed. Circumstances soon proved, that the confidence of Graffan was neither excessive nor misplaced.

The scandal of this massacre required the semblance of justice from the prefect, M. d'Arbaud Jonques; and a farce was accordingly prepared. It was agreed, that Graffan should be arrested; and he was, therefore, seized, and sent to Montpellier; but a deputation from his

friends, consisting of some of the most eminent inhabitants, and most zealous royalists, of Uzès, followed, to advocate his cause, and solicit his liberation; and their efforts were supported by the good offices of all the local authorities.* It was thought more advisable to exhibit the mockery of a trial, and to give the murderer all the advantage of an *honourable* acquittal, instead of that punishment which was due to his aggravated and multiplied crimes. The dispatch of the prefect, to the minister of the interior, is a valuable document. While it misrepresents both facts and dates in favour of the catholic faction, it records the instructions under which Graffan acted against the protestants; and it discloses the interest the authorities had in preventing any ulterior revelations, by shielding their agent from justice, under the forms of law. "Believing him guilty," says the prefect, "I spared no efforts for his arrestation; he endeavoured to evade my researches, but did not attempt to justify himself. It was not till after his arrival at Montpellier, that the voice and the reports of *the authorities of Uzès were unanimously raised in his defence.* It was then proved that Graffan, captain of one of the irregular companies, since dissolved, was sent *by order of authority,* to make a military reconnoissance in

* M. M. de Rouvière, ancien juge de paix et officier; De Pancé, ancien controleur des droits réunis et commandant de la Garde Royale; and De Bargeton Durfort, formed the deputation.

the commune of St. Maurice. "That having attacked a post, at the head of his troops, he dispersed it, and made six prisoners; that these unfortunate prisoners, on entering Uzès, amidst a great crowd and the band of Graffan, fell victims to the fury of the people, and of the soldiers of Graffan; that Graffan was absent on a conference with the authorities; and that the prisoners were not only killed without his participation, but that their death occasioned him the most lively grief."

The discrepancy between this dispatch, and the letter published in the official journal of the 2d of September, merits observation. Such a suppression and perversion of the truth involves the prefect in the censure which it is impossible to withhold from all those magistrates who thus appear the friends and protectors of the most infamous assassins. It is not surprising that, under such a government, emigration increased; and that the manufactures and agriculture, which had flourished by the skill and industry of the protestants, sunk into decay. Misery pervaded all classes; the workmen, who had not quitted the town, were without employment, and without food; while those who fled incurred expences and sacrifices, which exhausted their feeble resources, and reduced them to poverty and want. At the season of the vintage, the vines of protestants were appropriated by marauding bands, who daily cleared the harvest with horses and paniers, and carts.

"This year the harvest," they said, "and next year we will have the vines." One proprietor complained to a judge of the peace; but the only consolation he received, was conveyed in these words: "It is the people's share, and I can do nothing." The sufferers were almost entirely deprived of the comforts and supports of their religion. During many months the temple was shut against them; one of the pastors was hurried to the grave; the other was obliged to live in obscurity; and zealous and devoted as he is, it was only by the greatest caution that he preserved his own life, and administered in any degree to the spiritual edification of his flock. When, at length, the temple was opened, and worship celebrated, by order of the government, an immense mob threatened to fall on the worshippers; and though the magistrates felt obliged to protect the protestants, and restrain the crowd, they experienced considerable inconvenience; many were stoned, and several injured. Month after month they endured every species of indignity, interruption, and oppression. They were banished the public walks; prohibited all social intercourse; subjected to the arbitrary visits of the police; and exposed to the abuse and blows of the populace. This shameful persecution continued till after the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, at the close of the year 1816.

While the seat of the sub-prefecture was thus distinguished by the reign of anarchy and injustice,

it is not surprising that the persecution should extend to all the communes and villages of the arrondissement, where protestants had the misfortune to reside; and that the *canton* and the consistorial church of Uzès should be eminently distressed.

The armed bands of Trestaillons from Nismes raised immense sums, and committed dreadful outrages on the protestants of *Sanilhac*. M. Rebuffat, alone, was plundered of at least 6000 francs. The dead body of Mademoiselle Fresine was found in a well, into which she had either been thrown by brigands, or had thrown herself, driven to despair by their impure and murderous violence.

The village of *Sagriers* contained scarcely a protestant family; but the catholic inhabitants were among the most active and vicious of the persecutors. They were determined to lay hands on a protestant, named Portal; and understanding that he had taken refuge with Chastenier, a catholic, they surrounded the house in the night, and demanded entrance. Chastenier rose from his bed, and refused to open his door; it was instantly broken open; a musket was placed at his breast, and he was killed on the spot. After all, the object of their search was not found. It is worthy of observation, that this murder was the only crime, of this period, punished by the tribunals. The murderers were condemned, at Nismes, to be branded, and to the galleys for life. M. Chastenier was *a catholic*.

The protestants of *St. Quentin* were long and terribly afflicted. Many of their houses were plundered and devastated: that of M. Pascal, in the centre of the town, was entirely demolished, and even the stones were carried away.

The persecutions of *Montaren* were particularly atrocious and unjust.

In this commune, on the first restoration, the protestants were so hearty in their adhesion to the Bourbon constitutional government, that they attended the Te Deum in the catholic church; and thus evinced their disposition to unite in loyalty and devotion, as far as their consciences would permit, with the professors of another religion. In their turn, they also sung a Te Deum, by the authority of the sub-prefect; and invited the catholics to join in their service. Alas! the moments of apparent concord were few and fallacious. The curé forbad the attendance of his flock; and the "*faithful*" were highly offended, "that heretics should presume to invite them to enter their accursed conventicle." An invitation to a public repast, given in honour of the event, by M. Sabatier, one of the principal protestants, was equally refused; and against every friendly advance, the line of demarcation was deeply and broadly traced. Conciliation was met by the same threats and insults, which spread alarm in the other districts of the department.

Notwithstanding these provocations, the catholics had not the slightest ground for com-

plaint during the hundred days. Their persons, property, and worship, were perfectly respected and secure. On the second return of Louis XVIII. the white flag was hoisted with the greatest promptitude; and when some of the armed peasants of the neighbouring communes arrived on their way to Uzès, the leading protestants assured them of the safety of their brethren, and persuaded them to return peaceably to their homes.

As the reward of civic merit so distinguished, four hundred men from Uzès and Nismes, commanded by Baragnon, inundated Montaren, in the end of July; and the first object of their fury was the house of that very M. Sabatier, who, the year before, had given a public repast in honour of the Bourbons. M. Sabatier had already fled; his wife and daughter had scarcely time to quit their beds, throw on their robes, and escape by a private staircase, before the house was literally filled with armed brigands. The relatives of these ladies dared not receive them, and, destitute of an asylum, they were obliged to hide themselves in the woods, in order to elude the pursuit of murderers. In a short time nothing of their home remained but the walls; every thing was stolen or destroyed; and, when the destruction of the interior was completed, eighty trees on the premises were cut down, the bee-hives demolished, all the poultry appropriated, and only desolation left to attest successful crime.

The residences of M.M. Odol, Garel, Defos, and Bougarel, and of all the leading protestants, were successively attacked. M. Bougarel, as deacon of the church, was treasurer for the poor: his cabinet was forced, and all the fund, contributed for the relief of the indigent and afflicted, was seized in the name of the king. Instead of respecting the person of an aged and honourable officer of a religious community, they held him against the wall, and, with muskets at his breast, rifled his pockets of the last franc. But his cup of suffering was not sufficiently embittered; he was compelled to see his daughter-in-law, who was near her confinement, fastened to the wall; the sabre held to her throat, and her person searched, with an indecency from which even a prostitute would have shrunk. That the instruments should be thus brutal and shameless, was not surprising, when their chief, M. Baragnon, did not blush to ride a horse taken from one of the principal protestants. If this horse were presented by M. Odol, why was he treated as an enemy and a traitor? If it were appropriated without his permission, the commander of the royal miquelets was only the leader of banditti.

Exposed continually to magisterial oppression, and to popular assaults, the protestants did not attempt, during six montns, to celebrate public worship; but when the royal ordonnance relative to the opening of the temples appeared, they determined to assemble for prayer on

Christmas-day. With the pretended royalists, a royal ordonnance was to be honoured by disobedience, and its author served by the direct opposition of his will. Accordingly; while the protestants worshipped God by the orders of the king, the national guard beat the drums, and vociferated under their windows, and fired into their sanctuary. Thus the *exclusive friends* of his majesty, endangered the lives of the *traitors* who were obeying his instructions. Happily, the service was closed without accident, and the worshippers indulged a hope that hostility would gradually subside. Alas! they were disappointed; for, in a few days, fresh and unexpected difficulties occurred. During the last *twelve years* a part of the communal house, fitted up at the expense of the protestants, had been occupied by them as a temple. The house was nearly useless, and their occupation was in no respect inconvenient or unpleasant to the municipal council, who occasionally assembled in the building. On the 29th of December 1815, M. Odol received from the mayor the following letter:

"Sir,

"The *rassemblement* of the protestants in the communal house, last Monday, having occasioned very heavy complaints, the sub-prefect has directed me to oblige them to evacuate that place, and meet elsewhere for the exercise of their worship.

" 'This *tolerance*,' says M. Vallabrix, in his letter to me, 'on your part and mine, must cease; because we shall very properly be blamed, and because I know that it produces fermentation in your commune.' Not to deviate, therefore, from the system of *moderation* I have laid down, I give the protestants one month to remove their effects; and beyond that period you will be held responsible for all the consequences. I hope you will convince the *multitude* that it only requires that which is just.

" Abriac, Mayor."

The "*tolerance*" and "*moderation*" of the sub-prefect and the mayor, and of their mobs, admitted of no remonstrance; and attempts were consequently made to obtain quiet possession of other places. The first meeting was held in a *bergerie* *, and the catholics, as they returned from mass, disturbed the congregation, and fired several times at the building in which it was assembled. The owner was so shamefully threatened, that he was obliged to inform the pastor, "that the repetition of the service would compromise his safety; and that the strongest motives must induce him to request his absence for the future." Afterwards, M. Roux Sagrier, a wealthy proprietor, accommodated the poor heretics with a part of his

* A large stable, designed to fold sheep in the winter months and the rainy season.

hotel; but they were so warmly persecuted, and so unable to assist each other, that they were compelled to leave the house of M. Roux, and, subsequently, to give up entirely the celebration of public Christian worship.

M. Sabatier was arrested, and detained in the prison of Nismes till after May, 1816; and when at length this excellent citizen, who merited rather the thanks than the persecution of his neighbours, obtained his liberty, he was obliged to sell his estates for a third of their value, and remove to another part of the department.

In the commune of *Baron*, Graffan and his horde, when they were conducting their prisoners to the Esplanade of Uzès, endeavoured to seize M. Randon, the pastor, and add him to the number of their victims. Happily, he had escaped, and they were obliged to be satisfied with stealing his horse. It was in vain that the pastor, who could not visit his flock in the country, applied to the authorities to have it restored.

The communes of *Foissac*, *Seviers*, and *Euzet*, were doomed to endure the same kind of oppression and misery that afflicted those already mentioned.

Saint Chaptes is the chief town of another *canton*, and of a consistorial church. The bands from Uzès, amounting to several hundreds, arrived there in the end of July, under pretence of disarming persons who had already been deprived of their arms. These intruders were

lodged at discretion. The *curé* was excepted; but a party, calling themselves officers, took possession of the residence of M. Fromental, the protestant pastor, who had fled, and, at seventy years of age, was obliged to wander in the woods, and sleep in the ditches. Madame Fromental was ordered to prepare their table with the very best the country would afford: and, accordingly, she provided foreign wines, liqueurs, and all the rarities she could procure, in order to placate their wrath, and leave them without pretext for violence. "The faithful," returned these civilities by singing, in her presence, the most infamous songs; by a disgusting intemperance, which rendered it necessary to renew several times the table-cloth, and by putting in their pockets five silver *couverts*. The pastor's wife endured all these indignities without complaint, conducted these "friends of the altar" to their chambers, and retired. Scarcely had she descended, when she was loudly and impatiently summoned; and, on re-ascending, she found all her inmates waiting for her with their sabres drawn. They rudely seized her, and compelled her to open her husband's drawers, and give them 600 francs. This was not sufficient; and they insisted on, at least, one thousand. It was in vain that Madame Fromental assured them that there was no more cash in the house belonging to her husband, and that the contents of another cabinet belonged to the poor, of whose fund the pastor

was treasurer. The money given by heretics for the relief of the poor of the flock was doubly welcome; and they appropriated, with peculiar delight, about 1600 francs. They afterwards broke open all the drawers in their chambers, took every thing that suited them, and quitted the house.

Another party of *soi disant* officers, who had quartered themselves on M. Beaumel, an elder of the church, discovered under a bed a chest, in which a quantity of valuables had been carefully deposited. They did not scruple to steal the contents.

A farm belonging to M. Fromental, the pastor, was completely plundered, the furniture destroyed, and the hogsheads of wine, which it was too difficult to remove, staved and wasted. Several times the doors and windows were repaired; they were as often demolished. At a late period, after one of these attacks, the following letter was left on the chimney-piece:

"This morning we came to your farm to take *les oiseaux brigands.* You will bring a pretty double-barrelled gun, a pistol, a sword, and 250 francs, and place them where you find this letter. If you fail to execute this order, we shall *burn the farm,* and come to St. Chaptes to wish you good day, and, most likely, *shoot you* in the middle of the market-place.

"We are the Miquelets of Nismes.

(Signed) "SERGENT."

The original manuscript was deposited with the judge of the peace of the canton. Mr. Fromental was not indeed shot, but he fell a victim to the persecutions he experienced.

The chateau *de la Tour*, belonging to the Baron Chabaud, was several times attacked by the miquelets from Nismes and Uzès; and, on one occasion, it was near being destroyed.

M. Charles Juillerat, one of the pastors of Nismes, who had fled with his father, took refuge at the house of the Baron. The attention of the family was excited by the cries of persons approaching the dwelling; and they perceived a number of armed men pursuing, over the grounds, a fugitive, whom they called, "a mad dog." M. Juillerat, to divert the pursuers, and favour the escape of the individual, whose life appeared in danger, fired a pistol in the air. A crowd was collected, and a report circulated that a secret meeting of armed protestant ministers was held at the chateau. Vengeance was denounced; M. Charles Juillerat was seized, and, to avoid being carried to Uzès, where he would most probably have been murdered, he gave 1000 francs for his liberty, and set off for Switzerland.

Another attack was made on the premises, under the pretence that General Gilly was there concealed. Madame Chabaud, in very delicate health, and her daughter, were obliged to escape across the fields, throw themselves into a cart, (the only conveyance they could procure,) and

seek shelter and security in the neighbouring towns. At the point of the sword the miquelets compelled the domestics to conduct them over the house, took five hundred francs in money, linen, plate, and other effects, destroyed the mathematical and philosophical apparatus, and injured the library. Baron Chabaud was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal, and only escaped the guillotine by the extraordinary devotion and heroism of his sister, Madame Juillerat Chasseur, and the energy of his wife. He is now a deputy for the Gard, and has been appointed by Louis XVIII. one of the questures of the chamber.

Detachments of the same description infested the small village of *Garrigues*; and, though the protestants possess four-fifths of the land, and form three-fourths of the population, they were entirely disarmed, and arbitrarily taxed. The miserable appearance of these new crusaders would have excited ridicule under other circumstances; but now it was the indication of cruelty and rapine. They emptied every house of plate, linen, and jewellery. M. Dizier was robbed to a considerable amount; and a young female, who had surrendered her last franc, was rifled, and indecently deprived of the gold ornaments of her person.

On the 13th of August sixty men arrived, and lived at discretion on the protestants for several days. Others followed on the 18th and 20th, and raised a sum of six hundred francs;

and, a few days after, another hundred francs was required. The age and respectability of the resident pastor, M. Lombard, afforded him neither security nor exemption. His house was particularly injured; and he was obliged to seek safety in the secrecy of the woods. He was another pastor whose end was accelerated by exposure, fatigue, anxiety, and distress. During the progress of these persecutions, the municipal administration was usurped by the catholics, and almost entirely by one family.

The population of the commune of *Colorgues* is nearly all protestant; but the sub-prefect of Uzès was so determined that the magistrates should be both catholics and tools, that he replaced the protestant mayor by the servant of Madame Lacoste, and the adjunct by a *garde champêtre* of the commune.

The catholics, who are in great majority in the commune of *Bourdic*, heaped upon the protestants every species of indignity and oppression.

They induced Larnac, a catholic girl, of vicious character, and who had abandoned an infant on the public road, to prefer claims on the son of one of the most respectable inhabitants. As distinct as possible, both in their religion, property, reputation, and habits, they insisted on the young man uniting himself by a marriage, as indecent as infamous, to this wretched being. After some time the uncle of Larnac, became adjunct of the mayor, joined

with the mother and her son, both among the most active of the persecutors, and summoned the assistance of a party of the miquelets of Nismes. They were determined that this union should be consummated; and M. Roux had no resource but in sudden flight. Enraged at the loss of the son, they seized the father, and only gave him the alternative of being shot, or signing the contract of his son's marriage before a notary. The father preferred death to the dishonour of his son and his family; and did not hesitate to adopt the dreadful fate that was reserved for him. His wife, his children, all the protestants, and even some of the catholics, shocked at such atrocity, surrounded the victim, as he was dragged out of the village, and his family declared their determination not to survive his death. The scene was terrible. The murderers were not prepared for so deep a tragedy: they were checked, and at length consented to spare the life of M. Roux, on the payment of 1200 francs. The sub-prefect, who appeared to patronize the Larnacs, afterwards effected the arrestation and imprisonment of the unfortunate son.

The commune of *Blauzac* experienced the greatest calamities, and endured them for a very protracted period. The very first invasion of the miquelets cost the protestants *fifteen hundred* francs, which were delivered to one Fouchet, of Uzès. After the performance of a farandole, the catholics proceeded to the devastation of the

temple. They obtained from the mayor the key, which had been deposited with him; and recommenced their farandole, and sung the most horrid songs where prayer was wont to be made. The interior of the sanctuary they defaced or destroyed; and the wrecks they collected and burnt on the public place. The pulpit was reserved for another fate: it was dragged in triumph through the streets, and the fragments were afterwards fastened to the doors of the members of the consistory. Trestaillons, on his return from the expedition to Boncoiran, on the 26th of August, exacted to the amount of *seventeen hundred* francs; and at La Rouviere, besides plunder, he obtained a further sum of *two hundred and fifty* francs. At different periods "the faithful" compelled M. Esperandieu to sign a promissory note for *one hundred and fifty francs;* M. Coulin for *two hundred;* M. Amalric, elder of the church, for *two hundred;* and M. Alteyrac for *fifty*.

It was not till after the Bourbons had been restored *fifteen months* that it was possible to attempt the celebration of religious worship. M. Fromental, then, like a good shepherd, collected his flock in a *bergerie*, the temple not being yet restored; but he was hooted, disturbed, and pelted with stones and mud, and it was only by the interposition of the mayor, that serious mischief was prevented.

After a further suspension of divine ordinances, till the expiration of twenty months, M. Fro-

mental determined once more to recommence his ministry, on Sunday March 9. 1817. The consistory apprised the mayor, and requested his protection; and to avoid all cause of irritation, the meeting was held in a private dwelling. Scarcely had the service commenced, when an alarming mob surrounded the house, drowned the preacher's voice with their vociferations, broke the windows, and threatened to lay violent hands on the congregation. It was necessary to summon the mayor, who succeeded in dispersing the crowd. The following Sunday a party of *sapeurs* of the national guard, in full dress uniform, arrived from Uzès, supposing that service was to be again attempted. They went directly to the person who had lent his house to the consistory, and told him, "that they were informed that he had suffered on his premises, last Sunday, an assemblage of brigands, and that he intended to continue his complaisance; but that in case he permitted again such a scandal, they were come on purpose to raze his house, and to punish his conduct." It was not intended to have worship on that day, and therefore the *sapeurs* had no pretence for vengeance; but they were not satisfied to retire without committing numerous acts of outrage and disorder. At this period M. Darbaud Jouques was no longer prefect. He had been dismissed, and was replaced by M. D'Argout, who acted on very different principles, and punished both the guards and the mayor. In the Journal

of the Gard of the 9th of April 1817, there is the following article. "By a decree of the third of this month, the prefect has suspended from his functions the mayor of the commune of Blauzac, for not having informed the sub-prefect of Uzès of the disorders committed in his commune, by *three* national guards of Uzès, though he had been acquainted with them. The national guards have been indicted to the tribunal of Uzès, and provisionally disarmed."

La Calmette, *Dions*, *Moussac*, *St. Genies*, and in fact, all the communes of this canton, where there were any protestants, experienced similar vexations, cruelty, and persecution; all were disarmed, without authority, and in the power of their adversaries.

CHAP. IX.

SUBJECT CONTINUED. — ARRONDISSEMENT OF ALAIS. — CANTON OF ALAIS. — ASSEMBLY OF ARMED CATHOLICS. — ATTACK ON THE TEMPLE. — CASE OF M. FRAISSINET. — ASSASSINATION OF PERRIN CHARGED ON THE PROTESTANTS. — INSURRECTION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD. — CANTON OF ANDUZE. — LOYALTY OF THE PROTESTANTS. — CIRCULAR FROM THE CONSISTORY. — ALARM OF THE INHABITANTS. — NATIONAL GUARDS ASSEMBLE, AND NEGOTIATE. — ALLOWED TO RETAIN THEIR ARMS. — FRESH ALARMS. — TESTIMONY IN THEIR FAVOUR FROM THE ROYAL COMMISSIONER. — CANTON OF ST. JEAN DU GARD. — SEIZURE OF THE TEMPLE OF MIALET. — CANTONS OF VEZENOBRE AND LEDIGNAN. — COMMUNES OF NERS AND BOUCOIRAN. — MARCH OF ROYAL TROOPS. — CAMP OF THE PEASANTS. — MURDER OF M. PERRIER. — CONDUCT OF THE PASTOR, M. BRUGUIER. — RETREAT OF THE TROOPS, AND ARREST OF M. CAMBON. — DEATH OF M. PERRIER EXAMINED. — EXECUTION OF M. CAMBON. — PERSECUTION OF M. BRUGUIER, THE PASTOR, &C. — COMMUNES OF VALENCE, BRIGNON, AND MAURESSARGUES. — EXTORTIONS OF THE COMMISSIONERS IN SEVERAL COMMUNES. — ARRONDISSEMENT OF VIGAN. — M. DURAND'S ACCOUNT OF ST. HYPPOLITE AND THE CEVENNES. — CANTON OF LOUVRE. — LETTER FROM THE CONSISTORY. — COMMUNES OF DURFORT AND CANAULE. — CANTON OF LA SALLE. — ANECDOTE. — DEPARTMENT OF L'AVEYRON. — BURNING OF THE TEMPLE OF ST. AFFRIQUE. — MEMORIAL OF THE CONSISTORY. — DEPARTMENT OF L'HERAULT. — CHURCH OF MONTPELLIER. — BURNING OF THE TEMPLE OF PIGNAN. — ADDRESS TO THE CONSISTORY. — DEVASTATION OF THE TEMPLES OF COURNONTERAL AND VILLEVEIRAC. — ADDRESSES TO THE PRE-

FECT AND THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.—CHURCHES OF MONTAGNAC AND VALLEMAYNE DEVASTATED.—MASSILLARGUES.—REFLECTIONS.

ARRONDISSEMENT OF ALAIS.

THIS arrondissement includes the greatest part of the district watered by the streams of the Gardon, and called the Gardonnenque, and is inhabited by a large proportion of protestants, forming five consistorial churches. The nature of the country, and the character of the population, rendered it a vast asylum for the fugitives from the first scenes of violence; and on that account it was subjected to special persecution.

The canton and the town of *Alais*, the seat of the prefecture, was distinguished, on the first return of the Bourbons in 1814, by the bigotry of the catholics, as well as by the loyal and liberal conduct of the protestants, who are by far the most numerous and wealthy manufacturers and cultivators. It was here that the *penitents* immediately began to re-establish their ancient order, and the devotees to indulge in fanatical excesses, which alarmed even the clergy, and required the attention of the police. The protestants were doomed to share the uneasiness of their brethren throughout the department, and saw, without surprise, the undisputed progress of the Emperor, till he arrived at the chateau of the Tuilleries. The success of their

protector reduced to impotence their persecuting foes; but instead of taking vengeance on their enemies, they displayed the greatest forbearance during the whole period of Napoleon's ascendancy; and after the capture of the Duke d'Angoulême, the communes dependant on Alais, facilitated, by every possible means, the return of the disbanded volunteers to their respective homes.

This system of moderation and charity was lost upon the impracticable "friends of the altar and the throne," and many months of the second return of the king witnessed the regular and cruel oppression of multitudes of his best subjects. The number and influence of the Calvinists, and the firmness of their conduct, aided by the good intentions of the sub-prefect, M. Narbonne Lara, prevented indeed the perpetration of crimes similar to those which will for ever disgrace the catholics of Nismes and Uzès; but sufferings, long and complicated, were the reward of undeviating loyalty and exemplary civism. With the worst designs, and in pursuit of a plan which threatened the extinction of the protestant name in that part of the world, from *fifteen* to *eighteen hundred armed men* from the catholic communes in the north of the department, and from the department of the Ardêche, were collected in the town of Alais. It may be easily supposed, that besides the alarm which such an assemblage must have occasioned, in a country where the remembrance of the

camp of Jalès was still fresh, it was the source of innumerable vexations. After repeated remonstrances on the part of the reformed population, and preparations for a civil conflict, which it appeared impossible to avoid, these troops were withdrawn; but it was only that they might return when the confidence of the protestants should have dissipated their means of resistance, and have rendered them an easier prey. The catastrophe of Ners, which will be hereafter related, though it deranged the operations of this dangerous multitude, led to the introduction of a large garrison of troops, principally composed of Austrians, and to a more vigorous disarming than would have been experienced as the result of a foreign invasion.

The spirit of fanatical intolerance maintained its ascendancy during many months, and in addition to a more regular persecution by the local government, popular ebullitions frequently occurred.

At the period of the re-opening of the temples, the catholics were every where in motion; and on the 12th of November, the day of the assassination of General Lagarde at Nismes, Alais was the theatre of alarming disturbances. The populace had the audacity to seize the keys of the temple, with triumphant shouts of "*Vive le Roi.*" The authorities succeeded in re-obtaining them, but they took no measures for the apprehension and punishment of the guilty. At night they re-assembled in increased num-

bers and with augmented fury, and vowed that the protestants should all be destroyed and their temple be burned. They were proceeding to accomplish these *catholic* imprecations, when the national guard felt itself obliged to interrupt their operations; still, the magistrates neglected to arrest the principal agitators, and the presence of the troops of the line was necessary to prevent the threatened conflagration.

Tumultuous crowds again collected on the 27th of December, and the vociferations and insults, which usually preceded more direct outrages, were recommenced. The following day, the son of M. Fraissinêt, and his friend, while passing the Place St. Jean, were assailed with stones and beaten, and would have been mangled without mercy, if some respectable persons had not arrived and rescued them from the most imminent danger. The populace became enraged, and because vengeance was denied them, they demanded justice; that is to say, required that the two young persons should be condemned for sedition. They were accordingly cited before the *police-correctionelle:* witnesses were ready to swear whatever might be necessary to obtain a sentence. The pretended culprits were advised not to appear, but to make the first sacrifice, and incur the penalty for non-appearance, rather than place themselves in the power of witnesses without conscience, and judges without pity. Thus, after having been stoned and beaten, they were forced to pay a fine, and

were condemned, one to four and the other to two months' imprisonment.

In the beginning of January, 1816, M. Perrin, a catholic, and professor in the college, was assassinated. The crime was immediately imputed to the protestants. The prefect, M. d'Arbaud Jouques, who had been a tranquil spectator of the most shocking massacres, set out immediately for Alais, to prevent, as it was said, *the excesses of popular indignation ;* but, in reality, to give importance to an isolated fact, and more effectually to throw suspicion on the innocent. The guilt of the protestants could not be suspected by the local authorities : they well knew that to such a crime the whole of their conduct might be opposed, and that for a long time they had not been able to appear in the streets without danger, and were obliged to fasten themselves in their houses as the night approached. It is however believed on respectable testimony, that in a report to the minister of the interior, it was stated, " that very legitimate suspicions attaching to the protestants of Alais, relative to the murder of the Sieur Perrin, it was not known to what consequences they might lead — such was the exasperation among the catholic people."

It is certain, that the journal of the Gard of the 10th of January, declared, that " the assassination appeared to be the result of a plot formed by *many* individuals ;" and it is as certain, that the proclamation of the prefect, while

it pretended to deprecate popular revenge, gave a political character and a national importance to the unfortunate event.

"On the intelligence," it says, "of the loss you have sustained, in the death of an estimable citizen and a *faithful subject*, by a crime which appears to have been committed by *some enemies of the king and of the country*, I hastened to Alais, to co-operate in the inquiries of your administrators; but without the smallest suspicion of the wisdom of your conduct, which has always been perfect in the *most critical circumstances*. You have always united with your zeal and devotedness to *the royal cause* the calmness alone worthy of *a cause* so noble and so excellent. Justice will be done; do not doubt this: but it ought to be done legally, &c. — do not suffer yourselves to be surprised by *evil persons*, who have no longer any resource but in abusing the zeal of good Frenchmen, and making them commit faults which displease the king and disturb the peace."

The reproach thrown on the protestants has been completely repelled. The professor was murdered by a ruffian, hired by an individual who wished to obtain the place he occupied in the college, and the assassin has confessed his guilt: but, alas! till the refutation was established, what fears, vexations, and anguish were experienced by multitudes of the most honourable and loyal members of the community!

After the dismissal of M. d'Arbaud Jouques from the prefecture, the government found it necessary to dissolve the national guard of the department. Organized by order of the persecuting faction, all protestants had, as far as possible, been excluded, and it had been the ready instrument of violence and oppression. Instigated by the same chiefs, it now determined to resist the royal mandate, and on Sunday August 2d, it appeared at Alais in open insurrection. The national guards of that town seized the chests containing the muskets in store, broke them open with hatchets, and burnt them on the public place. They then proceeded to the fort, intending to blow up the magazine and pillage the protestants and their friends. Happily they were obliged to suspend their operations till the next day, when a battalion of Swiss arrived and terminated the affair. Twenty-two of the ringleaders were arrested; but to the grief, though not to the surprise of many, nearly all were afterwards ordered to be liberated.

"The movement at Alais," says M. Jouy, "was only a false attack, designed to draw the prefect and the garrison from Nismes, where an insurrection was to have taken place, which would have extended to all the towns of the South."

Anduze is one of the largest towns of the Gardonnenque. The protestants compose seven-eighths of the population, are the great proprietors, manufacturers and cultivators, and pay nearly all the taxes. Throughout the political

agitations of the nation, it had displayed extraordinary prudence and moderation; but on the return of the Bourbons it was nevertheless most shamefully calumniated and oppressed.

It is remarkable, that on the arrival of Napoleon, the tri-coloured flag was not raised, in this protestant town, till after the other towns of the department, which was also one of the last in the South of France. Neither the municipal council, nor the consistory addressed felicitations to the Emperor; nor was his restoration celebrated in any of the religious assemblies of the protestants in the communes of this canton. The entry of Louis XVIII., on the contrary, was acknowledged by public thanksgivings in their pulpits: even after his flight, prayers were continued for his Majesty, till the public orders to acknowledge, in divine worship, the imperial government; and as soon as his return was ascertained, he was replaced in the Liturgy of all the protestant temples. The catholic royalists had not the smallest grievance to endure in the Hundred Days, nor to avenge when the battle of Waterloo placed them again on the pinnacle of power.

The lilies were exhibited on the borders of the Gardon of Anduze, either the same day or the day after Nismes, according to the distances of the respective communes. It was therefore absolutely without the slightest reproach for the past, or apprehension for the future, that extraordinary commissioners, persecuting pacificators,

and pious assassins, were let loose on the canton of Anduze.

Driven from Nismes and the neighbouring cantons, it was only in the Cevennes and the Gardonnenque, and especially at Anduze, the key of the valleys, that the protestants could hope for an asylum or trust for defence; and thither men, women, children, and baggage arrived day and night.

The situation in which the inhabitants found themselves, may be collected from the measures contemplated by the consistory, but which they were unable to carry into effect.

The consistory of Anduze was presided by a venerable pastor, distinguished for his knowledge and his piety; an attack of paralysis had left the energy of his character unimpaired, and that energy he employed to avert the evils which threatened his beloved flock. The consistory were convoked to deliberate on an address to the king, exposing the true condition of the protestants of the Gard, and imploring his justice; but aware that the concurrence of other churches would be incalculably useful, they prepared and dispatched the following circular:

"Anduze, July 25. 1815.

"What has already taken place, and what daily occurs on *the subject of religion*, having spread general alarm, it is of the utmost importance to inform the government and the

king himself, by a memoir and a deputation from the consistories of the several churches. The special object of the mission should be to explain, that, if after rejoicing so cordially at the return of the Bourbons, the protestants appear to have cooled, in this part of the country, in their sentiments towards that family, it has been solely occasioned by the uneasiness and alarm excited by the conduct of catholics of all classes, who, listening to their own passions and prejudices, have acted as if the name and the religion of the king, of which they avail themselves, could authorize their excesses. It might be observed that this state of things has been notorious,— that the extraordinary commissioner and the other agents of government have been expressly informed, — that nevertheless the evil has increased, — that it was not diminished by the presence of the prince — and that even at that epoch the rumour of a new St. Bartholomew was so industriously spread among the people, and had filled their minds with such terror, that the appearance of Bonaparte would then have been regarded as a means of safety. It should be stated, that the protestants have never believed that the king entertains such an intention, nor even the design of persecuting them; and that they attribute to his false friends, to evil designing persons, or to individuals led astray by fanaticism, the persecution actually carried on against them, and the alarm with which

they are unwillingly inspired. To tranquillize them, it should be represented, that it would only be necessary that there should no longer be evident, the complete toleration of the vexations complained of, such as insults, extortion, pillage, imprisonment, and murder. The king might thenceforth be certain, that he could not have more faithful and zealous subjects than the protestants of the Gard.

(Signed) "BLACHON, President,
"MIRIAL, SOULIER, Pastors."

Such a memoir could not have been prepared without a general meeting; and the sufferers were afraid of compromising themselves by a step which would not have been sanctioned by the hostile authorities, but would probably have been denounced as a seditious conspiracy. So great was the terror, and so violent the persecution, that they were even afraid of writing to each other; besides which, the consistories could not assemble, as in many of the churches the members had fled. Nothing, therefore, could be determined by the body; and the protestants of Anduze feared that their individual efforts would irritate without advantage, and only aggravate the calamities under which they groaned.

On transmitting their circular to the consistory of Paris, they subjoined an interesting appeal:—

"August 1. 1815.

"It only remains for us to beseech you to examine, how far you may be able to concur in the object, either yourselves or by the agency of persons who interest themselves in our cause; especially as the churches are prevented from coming to an understanding as to the mission of deputies; most of the consistories being unable to assemble, some being even dispersed, and their pastors fugitives. We live in a time when nothing should be neglected for the safety of our churches. . . .

(Signed) "BLACHON, President,
"MIRIAL, SOULIÈR, Pastors."

It was in this situation, when called upon to protect their disarmed friends and relatives from the remorseless bands of Trestaillons and Quatre-taillons, that the inhabitants of Anduze were required to relinquish all their arms, and to swell the number of defenceless victims. Shameful as was the requisition, it was on the point of being obeyed, when they learnt that they were threatened with new and imminent danger. From fifteen to eighteen hundred men, from the catholic communes in the north, and from the department of the Ardêche, had arrived at Alais; a great number had also set out for the Cevennes and the Gardonnenque by two roads, and had advanced as far as Gajans on one side, and Boucoiran and St. Genies on the other. A just alarm seized every breast, — labour was suspended, and all

who could bear arms threw themselves into Anduze, as the barrier destined to arrest the approaching inundation. Nothing could exceed the regularity, loyalty, and prudence of the principal protestants. The bands from Nismes and Uzès, intimidated by the firm and commanding attitude of the citizens of the Gardonnenque, measured back their steps, marked by plunder and cruelty, and dragging with them M. Gore, mayor of Gajans, and M. Béchard, mayor of Dions, who was shot by Quatretaillons among the prisoners of Uzès.

The assembly of Anduze resolved to submit to any public arrangement, provided, the local authorities would give reasonable guarantees, for their common safety.

A deputation was sent to the sub-prefect, with an offer to march to any point, under the orders of the magistrates, and to give all the strength to the government, necessary to put down a confederacy which threatened to destroy the department. This offer was not accepted; but it was agreed, that they should repair to Nismes and remonstrate with the military commandant.

The deputies there represented to the general, that the collection of an army at Alais of such a composition, had naturally caused general alarm,—that all the Gardonnenque was perfectly obedient to the government,—that in the whole arrondissement not a single incident had occurred in opposition to this spirit,—that it was unjust

to disarm a large portion of the common family, when a party was animated by the desire of vengeance and proscription, and when the dreadful state of the disarmed communes daily attested the danger of the measure.' The commandant professed to feel the force of some of these observations, and promised that the troops in question should not be allowed to trouble the arrondissement.

Another deputation waited on the sub-prefect, M. Narbonne Lara, to thank him for the attention he had paid to the wishes of the protestants, and to request the dismissal of the armed force. This magistrate promised to dismiss all but 300 men, as soon as the national guards collected at Anduze should have retired to their homes. The protestants were disposed to confide in this arrangement, on the assurance of the sub-prefect; and the sub-prefect, on his part, had such confidence in the force of Anduze, that he took men from that body to dissolve another assembly formed on similar principles, and determined to defend itself if attacked unjustly by the catholics. This assembly was no longer in existence; for the promise of the sub-prefect had dispelled their most lively apprehensions, and the persons who composed it had disbanded themselves before his arrival.

The national guards collected at Anduze, began also to retire, and the sub-prefect conceded that they should not be disarmed, till a more

regular administration could ensure security to all citizens of whatever faith. Every thing promised improvement, and the electoral colleges were convoked. But at this moment a new series of events commenced.

The sub-prefect was on a visit at Anduze, and had confirmed all his assurances, when fresh orders arrived from Nismes, for a complete surrender of arms throughout the district. By common consent it was resolved to apply to M. Jules Calvières, who still acted as prefect, though another prefect had been appointed by the king. The mayor and a member of the municipal council were to accompany the sub-prefect to Nismes; but on their arrival at Alais, they met a delegate of an extraordinary royal commissioner, and it was unnecessary to proceed. The delegate and the sub-prefect went with the deputies to Anduze, and there publicly declared, that the national guard should not be disarmed, but that if any individuals were found unworthy of their trust, their arms should be taken by the local authorities. The guard, assembled in honour of the visitors, testified its pleasure by repeated shouts of "*Vive le Roi,*" and took the oath of fidelity; and the magistrates retired with the most perfect satisfaction. Thus after long agitation and alarm, by its firmness and good conduct, Anduze escaped, the second time, the privation of the means of self-defence.

A state of things so just and desirable was not suited to the evil genius of the administration. After some days of repose, a letter from the sub-prefect threw the town and canton into the greatest consternation. The municipality were informed by this letter, that M. Narbonne Lara was apprized of the great fermentation that had taken place; that he was consequently exceedingly anxious, and was ready to send whatever assistance might be necessary to maintain tranquillity. Unhappily, before the communication of this letter, he had already recalled the troops, whom he had dismissed, from the Catholic districts of the north. All confidence was destroyed. It was evident, that after the personal inspection and arrangements of the sub-prefect and the delegate, the pretended situation of the canton could not be believed, and that however well disposed the sub-prefect might be, he was no longer master of his own conduct. The elements of the storm were collected in higher regions. A deputation from the municipal body and the principal inhabitants visited the sub-prefect, and attested the perfect tranquillity of the town, and even of the whole of the communes of the canton. Once more the sub-prefect appeared convinced, and instead of sending an armed force to Anduze, he promised to do all he could personally, to prevent the incursion of those bands, within the limits of his authority, by whom other arrondissemens had been so dread-

fully oppressed. He accordingly addressed a circular to all the mayors, ordering nightly patroles on all the borders of the arrondissement, to oppose the inroads of the miquelets from Uzès and from Nismes. The catastrophe of Ners, which led to the sudden advance of the Austrians, changed completely the aspect of affairs, and finally effected the total disarming of the protestants of the Gardonnenque, and the possession of their arms by their most bitter adversaries. But that at this very period the inhabitants of Anduze had committed no political fault, and had merited no persecution, may be satisfactorily gathered from the letter of the sub-prefect, on the first rumour of the situation of Ners.

"This morning, before day-light," says he, "I sent twenty men of the cavalry of the national guard to Ners, to ascertain the situation of affairs, &c. If it should be necessary to send succours to the Chasseurs Royaux, I shall call upon the national guards of my arrondissement; and that of Anduze will be one of those which I shall employ with the greatest confidence, because I can depend on its good spirit."

It is not a little curious, that on the same day that the prefect, M. d'Arbaud Jouques, denounced this canton, and many others, as in a state of rebellion, and its national guard as vicious, and condemned the canton to military law and occupation, and the guard to immediate dissolution; the sub-prefect, who had the most

perfect local knowledge, expressed the utmost confidence in the spirit of the population, and selected the national guard of Anduze, to maintain public tranquillity, and to protect the troops exclusively royal.

The details of all the sufferings of this consistorial church, would occupy too much space, and present only a disgusting repetition of acts of outrage and injustice; but the history that has been given of the treatment experienced by the legal and constitutional guardians of order and tranquillity, in this most protestant district, will illustrate the system of calumny adopted for the destruction of virtuous citizens, and the methods employed to irritate their passions, deprive them of their arms, and expel them from the ranks of the national guard.

That under all these injuries and calamities, they preserved, unimpaired, their titles to the national esteem and gratitude, and the honour of the religion they professed, is evident from testimony above suspicion, contained in the following letter from M. de Micault, Commissioner of the King, to the municipality of Anduze.

"Anduze, November 8th, 1815.

"Mr. Mayor,

"When I arrived in your commune, in the name of the king, with the message of peace and *consolation*, you opened to me all your hearts, and I was not backward to acknowledge

the legitimacy of the fears by which you were agitated.

"Happy in having been able, in so short a period, to allay your apprehensions, by dissipating prejudices, which appearances falsely interpreted had occasioned against the town and the canton of Anduze, I cannot approach the expiration of the period of my stay, without the most lively regret.

"One thing alone can mitigate my feelings; and that is, my intimate persuasion, that the testimonies you have given me of your satisfaction, were too sincere not to be durable; and it will be delightful to believe, that though absent, I shall always preserve, what I most highly value, a place in your hearts.

"On my part, be assured that I shall ever feel for you the same affection, and that I shall consider as a new source of happiness, every circumstance which affords me any opportunity of being useful to you.

"Accept this assurance, and believe that my felicity depends on yours.

(Signed) L. P. MICAULT,
"Com. Mil. du Roi."

The canton of *St. Jean du Gard* is situated among the wild and sterile mountains of the Cevennes; but it possesses a large consistorial church, and in addition to the fertility and wealth, which the industry of the protestants has produced, may be found in abundance, the

more valuable and delicious fruits of their holy and amiable religion. It was here that the persecuting soldiers of the Duke d'Angoulême experienced special kindness and generosity. They traversed the district with the ensigns of royalty, when the tri-coloured flag waved in every town and village they entered, and was finally raised behind them in the canton they had left; but instead of suffering injuries and captivity, they enjoyed security and comfort. M. Genies, the pastor and president of the consistory, even accompanied the mayor to the lodgings where these hostile troops were quartered, and recommended them personally and particularly to the attention of their hosts.

In return, St. Jean du Gard was treated with untempered rigour — denounced by the royal commissioners and the prefect as rebellious—subjected to martial law — disarmed and garrisoned by foreign troops — and after all, oppressed by an agent, denominated, in opposition to a royal ordonnance, a royal commissioner.

One fact will demonstrate the abuse of his irregular and despotic power.

The protestants of the commune of *Mialet* had been authorised by the former government, to appropriate an old and abandoned church, on the condition, of their paying to the treasury of the catholics, an annual rent of 60 francs. The dilapidated building was accordingly repaired at their expense, and consecrated to their worship; and since the period of their

occupation nothing had disturbed the harmony or the compact which existed between the catholics and the calvinists. It remained for the *soi-disant* commissioner of a king, who had guaranteed by *his* charter all rights and interests, to terminate this profanation, and eject the heretics. Accompanied by the curé of St. Jean du Gard, and a party of national guards selected from the most bigotted and furious catholics, he proceeded to the capture of the temple of *Mialet*. The mayor and the inhabitants explained and remonstrated; but the arms of the national guards, the threats of the commissioner, and the anathemas of the priest, silenced all the appeals of reason, justice, and religion; the tenants were compelled to surrender the keys of their sanctuary, and the compact, so long found beneficial to both parties, was violently and arbitrarily dissolved.

The cantons of *Vezenobre* and *Ledignan* contain one large consistorial church, formed from the population of nearly 30 rural communes, who are principally employed in the cultivation of vines and mulberry trees, the breed of silk-worms, and the spinning of silk.

Rich in their own industry and simplicity, and ardently attached to a religion transmitted to them by their ancestors at the sacrifice of their lives, the protestant inhabitants of these humble villages, could not but be objects of envy and hatred to the ambitious and intolerant catholics. To the sounds of "*Vive le Roi,*

vive la Croix," their fields were made desolate, and their cottages stained, not with the protecting sign of the passover, but with the seal of selected vengeance.

Among the communes which were the most heavily visited, Ners and Boucoiran were distinguished. The events that occurred in these communes, were in themselves so dreadful, and in their influence on the general progress of the persecution so important, that they must be correctly and minutely related.

Ners and Boucoiran. On the 24th of August (*St. Bartholomew's Day,*) two squadrons of cavalry set out from Nismes, with the professed intention of marching directly to Alais. They belonged to a newly formed regiment, called the Chasseurs Royaux de Marquis de Calviéres-Vezenobre; as though they were raised and paid by the Marquis de Vezenobre, according to the feudal system of the *ancien regime.* Their very title marked the spirit of the troops, and the designs of those by whom they were employed, and distinguished them, as the agents of private and party policy, from the regular and constitutional force intrusted to the king.

The distance from Nismes to Alais is about 24 miles, and as there is no town on the route sufficiently large to quarter a body of troops, they are accustomed to march in the day from one depôt to the other. Without previous information, these troops entered Boucoiran early

in the morning, and demanded lodgings. They were nearly half-way on the road to Alais, and the greater part of the day was before them; Boucoiran was too small a village to lodge *five hundred* cavalry; but in spite of the alarm and inconvenience of their stay, they were determined to remain. About nine o'clock in the morning, M. Vidal, the mayor of Ners, a village nearer Alais, on the other side of the Gardon, received from the mayor of Boucoiran a request to lodge a detachment of about 150 chasseurs; and immediately after, the quarter-master arrived. The detachment entered the village about ten o'clock.

Such an unexpected movement of troops, when even one armed individual occasioned uneasiness, could not but inspire the peasantry with considerable alarm. Especially, after the sub-prefect had promised a reduction of the force assembled at Alais, and ordered nightly patroles on the borders of the arrondissement; and when the intruders assumed a title so inauspicious, and to modern France so strange, the citizens feared, that under pretence of establishing the royal authority, they should have to suffer oppression, pillage, and murder. Apprehension, or prudence, soon induced all the armed inhabitants to quit the village, and take their station on an adjoining height. By this step they thought to avoid all quarrels, and escape all danger.

In a few hours, the report of the arrival of these unwelcome troops was spread through the country, and the same apprehension was entertained by all the neighbouring communes. To preserve their own homes, they thought it necessary to assist those who appeared the first menaced. More than a thousand national guards rallied for the defence of Ners, and formed a sort of encampment on a plain above the village.

As soon as the Chasseurs were aware of the union of the armed inhabitants of Ners, they endeavoured to diminish their numbers, and engage them to surrender their arms: but personal safety was paramount. The peasants replied neither "by vociferations," which would have irritated, nor "by a discharge of musketry," which would have killed the officers; but by sincere protestations, that the military had nothing to apprehend, and that their design was not to injure them, but to protect their own families and save their own lives.

In the mean time several of the Chasseurs began to threaten and torment their hosts, pretending that "their sabres had been sharpened, and that at midnight the remainder of the regiment would arrive and assist them to put the village to rights." The officers also were disposed to insult the country-people; not being able to appear amiable, they attempted to be formidable; indulged in the grossest invectives, and denounced the heaviest punishment. Such

boasts and threats were at least imprudent, and discovered any thing but friendly and pacific intentions.

Unfortunately, a young man, whom they met in the street without a cockade in his cap, was treated with great violence, and declaring that he was a rebel, they beat him and dragged him to prison. The women who witnessed this scene raised a cry of terror and indignation, which resounded through the village, and was heard at the place of encampment. Fear became violent and contagious, and the villagers thought only of finding safety in immediate flight. Old men, women, and children, ran through the fields to escape the dreaded fury of the soldiery. The roads were choaked with baggage and carts loaded with linen and goods, which they hoped to save from plunder and conflagration.

A spectacle so afflicting could not but distress and enrage the national guards, already disposed to terminate a condition of oppression and incertitude, which became every day more insupportable. In such circumstances, nothing but the ascendancy of virtue, and the firmness and energy of a superior mind, could succeed to calm the general effervescence, and check a torrent which threatened to overwhelm the troops and produce in the department the greatest calamities.

Happily at this critical moment M. Bruguier the pastor appeared. His well known and authoritative voice, enjoined order and tranquil-

lity. His tongue, accustomed to announce the most solemn truths, described the fatal consequences to their brethren and their country of a passionate and inconsiderate attack, and represented the certainty of revolt being ascribed to those, who, indulging what they thought to be only just and natural resentments, might obtain a complete and immediate triumph. His persuasive and paternal tone, softened down the spirit of the warlike peasants, and, supported by the observations of other wise and reflecting persons, produced all the effect his patriotism had desired. The inhabitants of several communes had already retired to their homes, others were about to imitate their example, when a new incident threw fuel on the dying flame, and excited to frenzy the anger of the national guards.

It was sun-set, but the smallest objects were still discernible, the bustle of the encampments had in a great degree subsided, and such a stillness reigned as often in a summer's evening seems to pay homage to the retiring light. On a sudden, the report of a fire-arm discharged in the suburbs of the village reached the height, and intelligence immediately followed, that M. Perrier was killed. The guards, who were preparing to depart, rushed to their posts; the peasants flew to arms; nothing was heard but cries of vengeance and fury, and the citizens with rage and despair in their hearts resolved to march against the detachment and obtain satisfaction for a dreadful crime. Once more M. Bruguier threw

himself between the peasants and the objects of their indignation, and at the peril of his life opposed his influence to the tumultuous violence of their passions; and once more he succeeded in arresting their steps and preventing a frightful scene of carnage and destruction.

M. Perrier, the late mayor of Ners, was a protestant, known to all the national guards of the surrounding communes, and universally respected by the inhabitants. For some years he had held his office, and discharged its functions with credit and integrity. On the first restoration, the Bourbons found him mayor and continued him at his post. During the hundred days he had not been displaced, and without meddling with the political causes of successive changes, he exerted himself to maintain order, and conduct the ordinary operations of the civil institutions. Within the last month (July 27th.) he had been dismissed by the provisory prefect, M. Calvières, and re-placed by M. Vidal, the present mayor. He was now without any official obligation or authority; but the weight of his character and his knowledge of business were on this occasion consecrated to the service of his country, and he assisted M. Bruguier in calming the feelings of the guards, and inducing those from a distance to retire. He had just descended to the village, when M. Calvieres, an officer of the chasseurs, took him by the arm, and drew him, though reluctantly, again towards the place of encampment; but they had scarcely

arrived at one of the extremities of the village, before he received a mortal shot, and instantly expired. The nature of the wound is unquestionable. It is thus officially described by the judge of the peace and his proper assistants in their *procès verbal* of the inspection of the corpse, prior to its removal for interment the following day.

"We found the body of M. Perrier laid on the pavement between the houses Tessier and Bruguier, in the street leading to Colombier. We examined it, and found between the two breasts, but nearest to the left, a large hole of a round figure, which we judged to be about *three inches in diameter*, and occasioned by a fire-arm. We caused the body to be turned, and perceived that it was perforated by a shot, which from the largeness of the wound must have been fired close to the deceased, (*à bout portant.*) The corpse was guarded by three men appointed by the mayor."

These guards, and several other inhabitants, describe the clothes and even the flesh as having been burnt by the explosion, and the wadding as being attached to the wound.

The spot on which the murder was committed was not within view of the national guards, nor within reach of their muskets. The deceased had been dismissed from his office by the prefect, the persecutor of the protestants, and died regretted by all the inhabitants collected on the heights. But still his death was attributed to

the national guards, and made the pretext for aggravated persecutions in most of the protestant districts. The person who fired on the ex-mayor must have been either near to him or at a distance. In the first case; though the sun was set, it was still light and the smallest objects were discernible; the officer was dressed in uniform, which not only distinguished him from the ex-mayor, but rendered him a mark for the aim of an assailant. How then can it be imagined that any of the country-people would have selected their fellow-citizen, friend, and respected ex-magistrate, in preference of the officer of those chasseurs, on whom they were disposed to take vengeance for their ill-treatment of their wives and families? In the second case, if the shot were fired from a distance, more or less considerable, how could it have happened that the wound should have been so large and deep as the agents of the government describe it to have been — that the clothes and flesh of M. Perrier should have been burnt — and that the officer who declared himself to be wounded, should have been wounded in the right hand, when only one piece was fired, and the ex-mayor was killed on his left? No evidence, however corrupt, no reasoning, however subtle, can destroy natural facts, or impeach the testimonies of time and place.

Night drew on, and the commander of the chasseurs assembled his men on the great road, and in front of an inn, kept by the adjoint or deputy mayor. The landlord was at the house

of the mayor at the other end of the commune, when the mayor was summoned to attend the commandant. The mayor immediately complied, and took with him M. Daniel Cambon, his adjoint, and M. Coudouloux, member of the municipal council. M. Cambon was seized, on the charge of having fired on the chasseurs from a window in the village. The mayor protested, and proved that his adjoint was innocent: every body knew him to be innocent; and certainly if he had not been innocent, he would scarcely have presented himself voluntarily to the commandant, when he had the means of avoiding him so completely in his power. The truth was, he had resisted the violent and extortionate conduct of the soldiers, and they had threatened vengeance. They did not threaten in vain: he was dragged with two other prisoners to Nismes, and on the moment of their arrival, by authority of the prefect, M. d'Arbaud Jouques, they were shot by the Austrians, without the shadow of form, or the semblance of justice.

The chasseurs fell back on Boucoiran, and joined a large band of catholics who had arrived from Nismes, headed by Trestaillons and his comrades. This junction left no doubt on the minds of the inhabitants. They saw their worst fears justified, and they perceived in the number of catholics assembled at Alais, — the march of the chasseurs, — the movement of Trestaillons from Nismes, and Quatretaillons

from Uzès, a regular plan for attack and massacre, which was to be terminated by the Austrians extirpating as rebels a peaceable population, goaded to resistance by oppressors and murderers.

The seizure of M. Cambon, as well as the assassination of M. Perrier, was known immediately among his brother protestants; and in the morning, (August 25.) a great many national guards and peasants collected at Boucoiran. Indignant at an act so unjust, and so destructive of the rights of citizens, they demanded his liberation, and also the restoration of numerous articles of which the inhabitants of Boucoiran and the neighbouring villages had been deprived; and, among other things, of a quantity of goods and *three hundred* francs taken from MM. Pic and Maurin, at the hamlet of L'Eglise. These equitable demands were rejected, — every effort was unsuccessful, — exasperation succeeded, and several skirmishes took place, which would have become more serious and decisive, had not the Austrians appeared. It was not the intention of the peasants to make war on the allies, nor to contend with the regular armed force of the government, but to oppose the aggressions, and resent the violence, of lawless and blood-thirsty banditti.

When the pillage of Boucoiran had augmented their booty, all the bands (except the Austrians)

set off by cross roads, and plundered and devastated wherever they went. Quatretaillons, in the mean while, was operating on the side of St. Maurice, whence he tore six fathers of families and shot them, as has been already mentioned, on the esplanade of Uzes.

Such were the dreadful events of Ners; but farther to illustrate them, and at the same time to exhibit more clearly the system of misrepresentation that was pursued, the official account given in the journal of the Gard is placed in a note, accompanied with observations, which it will be proper carefully to read and impartially to compare. *

* Official Account.	Observations.
" Thursday the 24th two squadrons of the regiment of Chasseurs Royaux de Mon. le Marquis de Calvieres Vezenobre were sent to form the garrison of Alais.	They never went to Alais. The object was to oppress the protestants, that under pretence of rebellion the allies might destroy them in mass.
" They arrived at Boucoiran at *seven in the evening*, the greater part without arms, and each leading a horse besides that mounted.	They arrived at Boucoiran about *nine in the morning*, and at Ners about *ten;* all armed, but badly equipped, and having more the air of assassins than soldiers.
" Not being all able to lodge in that place, some of them were sent on as far as the village of Ners, where they were quartered at private houses.	It was very easy to march them to Alais, with only halting at Boucoiran to refresh.
" At *dark* the commandant of this detachment being	He knew of the assemblage soon after his arrival,

One circumstance connected with this tragedy merits particular notice. M. Bruguier, the excellent and heroic pastor of Ners, who had

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Official Account.	Observations.
informed, that on the right of the village there was an assemblage of armed men ordered it to be reconnoitred, and the bugle to sound to horse.	and when it was only composed of the inhabitants of Ners. The bugle was not sounded till the evening, and after the death of M. Perrier.
" Some chasseurs who had not time to mount their horses, were surprised by their hosts, disarmed and undressed.	The men bearing arms had left the village, and the old men and the women, instead of injuring the chasseurs, showed them every attention possible, in order to prevent altercation and disturbance.
" Immediately after, the former mayor came to inform the commandant, that there was another assemblage formed in the village, and even on the place of the mayoralty.	The whole of this paragraph is utterly and abominably false.
" M. Cabrieres, the lieutenant, was sent to reconnoitre this assemblage, followed by a detachment, and conducted by the ex-mayor.	This officer was not followed by any detachment: he was alone with M. Perrier, the ex-mayor.
" Arrived at the place of the mayoralty, he advanced towards the assemblage with his guide, and addressed it in amicable terms.	They did not go to the place of the mayoralty, where ten men could not manœuvre, but towards the encampment. They discovered no assemblage, because

done every thing that it was possible to do, to calm popular fervour and prevent confusion, who had held back the arm of vengeance when it

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.	OBSERVATIONS.
	they did not leave the village.
"The rebels answered by vociferations, and a discharge of musketry, by which the ex-mayor was killed at his side, and he was wounded in the arm.	There was only one shot fired, and that not by the protestants. The officer refused to show his wound or have it dressed, though the new mayor was a surgeon.
"The inhabitants, on their part, fired from the windows of their houses, and amongst them was distinguished, the adjoint of the mayor.	Let it be observed, that the assemblage was charged with the murder of M. Perrier, and the wound of M. Cabrieres. Here it is asserted, that the inhabitants fired from their houses in the narrow streets of Ners, and yet there were neither killed nor wounded!!
"M. Cabrieres retired on the rest of the troop, who fell back and bivouacked on the other side of the Gardon, taking with them the adjoint of the mayor, who was seized in his house.	M. Cambon was not seized in his house, but in the street, by the side of the mayor, with a lantern in his hand, and the mayor declaring his innocence. This mayor, who had replaced M. Perrier, ought to have had some influence with the commandant. The journal does not mention that, among other things, they took with them M. Perrier's horse, and sold it at Nismes.

would have fallen with terrible efficiency on the royal troops, and to whom it was owing that civil war had not its full course in the South of

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OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.	OBSERVATIONS.
" The morning of the 25th was spent in parleys: the chasseurs were wise and moderate, but they could produce no effect on the furies.	The chasseurs refused to set at liberty M. Cambon, or to restore their plunder; but they required the national guards to surrender their arms, and place themselves in the power of the merciful Trestaillons.
" In spite of his wound, M. Cabrieres came express to give information of the affair, and to receive the orders of the government.	It is not a little astonishing that an officer with a ball in his arm, and his wound undressed, should be sent express to receive orders !
" Six hundred Tyrolese were sent from the Austrian troops at nine in the morning: they arrived at Ners at one in the afternoon.	They arrived at Ners very late, because affairs had detained them at Boucoiran.
" They were accompanied by 200 of the chasseurs à cheval, and found about 5 or 600 of the rebels: they were ranged in order of battle, and began to fire.	The pretended rebels were not ranged in any order, much less in the order of battle. Without any commander, they placed themselves in the fields or on the hills, to the best advantage, and this not near Ners, but Boucoiran.
" The commanding officer ordered the charge: it was executed, and the rebels were routed.	There was neither battle, combat, nor charge; all passed in petty skirmishes.

France; instead of being honoured and rewarded by the government, became the object of the most malignant and protracted persecu-

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OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.

"Four Tyrolese were killed and nine wounded. The rebels left on the field of battle *sixty or eighty* killed and wounded.

"Several prisoners were made, three of whom arrived at Nismes the same day at six in the evening.

"*Account* of the death of M. Cambon, published by M. D'Arbaud Jouques, prefect of the Gard, in his own justification.

"Behold the truth!

"Three *men* were made prisoners by the Austrians, in the combat of the 25th of August, at the moment, even when they fired on the Austrians; conducted before the General, they were condemned by military justice, as rebels against

OBSERVATIONS.

Several of the Chasseurs Royaux were killed, and *two* of the peasants.

This is a gross artifice. The three prisoners who arrived were the unfortunate M. Cambon and his companions. M. Cambon was not taken by the Austrians, but by the chasseurs the night before. They were shot by the Austrians the instant of their arrival at Nismes, on the fête of St. Louis; and about the time that the Austrians arrived at Ners. M. D'Arbaud Jouques, the prefect, has had the effrontery to publish to the world that M. Cambon was taken by the Austrians, on the 25th, in the act of firing on them; when the official account, already quoted, states that he was seized by the chasseurs on the night of the 24th, for having fired at them from a window!! The prefect styles them three *men*, when *one* was a magistrate, the ad-

tion. Denounced as a traitor, he was obliged to abandon his home and flee for his life. A price was set on his head, and his flock heard it publicly announced in the markets of the surrounding towns with the sound of the trumpet or the drum. During many months he was obliged to wander in the fields and conceal himself in the woods. His sufferings continued till after the dismissal of the prefect, D'Arbaud Jouques. The iniquity of this treatment is now placed beyond all question. M. D'Argout, who succeeded M. D'Arbaud Jouques in the prefecture, examined all the particulars of M. Bruguier's case, and interested himself so zealously in his behalf, that in spite of all the efforts of his enemies, he has been not only restored to liberty and security, but re-instated in all his pastoral rights and functions, and now exercises his ministry among his delighted and affectionate flock. The restoration of the pastor of Ners was a real fête to every protestant; for the oldest inhabitant does not remember, and the

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the lawful authority. The orders of Comte Stahremberg was their only judgment."

OBSERVATIONS.

joint of the mayor, and *another*, a garde champêtre, by his office obliged to bear arms. What can be thought of a prefect who did not rise from his banquet to save the lives, or examine the conduct of three French citizens?

youngest never knew, any but a Bruguier fill the pulpit of the temple, or administer the ordinances of their religion.

The troubles which afflicted this commune did not cease till a very late period. A company of national guards, led by Pierre Huguet of Vezenobre, made a descent on Ners, July 27th, 1816. Not finding the individual object of their search, they endeavoured to carry off an old citizen, more than sixty years of age, and declared, that as they had not secured the nephew, they would fusillade the uncle. About the same date, the following letter was written to an inhabitant of the village:

"Vezenobre, July, 1816.

"I request M. Becamel to desire M. Courdil to come to Vezenobre the 28th of this month, between ten and eleven in the morning, to be conducted to the fort of Alais.

(Signed) "TRIAL, Serjeant.

"N.B. — You will tell him that if he has any answer to make, to write immediately."

This M. Courdil is an elder of the consistory, a respectable man, old, and infirm. He was obliged to find the captain, and obtain protection against this alarming citation.

Another inhabitant was fined by a corporal of the national guard for working on Christmas day.

On the 1st of January, 1817, the national guard of Boucoiran attacked a private house, without any authority from the magistrate, and insulted the women who were employed in spinning. The mayor, who happened to be a protestant, was called upon for protection; but both he and his family were assailed. He was afraid to draw up a procès verbal, and only complained to the sub-prefect, who *advised* him to remain quiet, and take no notice of what had passed.

While all these transactions gave celebrity to the villages of Ners and Boucoiran, the other communes and hamlets of the canton were not neglected by the persecuting genius of the department.

At *Valence* the protestants were exposed to arbitrary and heavy contributions, for the support of a faction which was armed against the whole family of the descendants of the Huguenots.

Among the excesses committed at *Brignon*, was the spoliation of Madame Claris. Her royalism was universally known; but she was a protestant, and the widow of an elder of the church. Another member of the same family was plundered of linen, clothes, plate, several hundred francs, fifty fowls, and about three thousand bushels of corn.

A patrole of five hundred men "were sent to make an *arrestation*," such are the words of the prefect, in the village of *Mauressargues*,

containing about thirty families. All the houses of the protestants, amounting to seven, were completely ravaged. Those of the mayor and adjoint not yet displaced, were the worst treated. The mule belonging to the mayor was used to carry the heaviest of the articles. A poor woman was even forced from her bed, that her sheets might be taken away; and the corn of the widow Martin was sold in the public market to the highest bidder. The sub-prefect delegated M. Denis Capel to take cognizance of these depredations, and authorized him to call in the national guards of Ledignan, and, if necessary, the troops of the line. M. Capel related the facts to the prefect, who replied, "that the five hundred men were sent by authority, and that if disorders had occurred, the royal troops were incapable of committing them." The delegate had an injunction to quit the place without delay, and the protestants were left to the mercy of their foes.

The sub-prefect could not avoid visiting the commune to ascertain the damages, (the valuation presented by the mayor not being received,) and when the adjoint of the mayor showed the wrecks of his furniture, and observed that every door had been forced, but that of his granary, "You may think yourself happy," said the sub-prefect, "that they left you any thing to eat."

Other communes of this canton suffered exceedingly from the unprincipled extortions of a

soi-disant royal commissioner. Though entirely disarmed, soldiers were quartered on those inhabitants who were said to have arms concealed. They were compelled to pay the military six francs per hour during their stay, and even to purchase fire-arms for the purpose of surrendering them. The regular price was fifty francs for a single-barrelled gun, and a hundred francs for one with a double barrel.

Remonstrances were made; but they were only met by demands for money. Some of the mayors who required receipts for the satisfaction of their communes, were given to understand that they insulted the personal honour and the official dignity of the commissioner, and that these transactions did not require ordinary publicity. On this plan, *Aigremont* paid 1125 francs; *St. Benezet*, 1300; *Lezan*, 700; and *Cardet*, 500. *St. Jean de Serre*, almost entirely inhabited by *catholics*, was exempted from this abominable and vexatious contribution.

ARRONDISSEMENT OF VIGAN.

In the arrondissement of Vigan, rapine and murder were not carried to the same extent as in some other districts; but it was seriously menaced, and frequently disturbed.

The inhabitants were deeply afflicted by the knowledge of continued evils which they could not prevent; by the presence of numerous fugitives whose distress they could not adequately

alleviate; and, finally, by a cruel proscription which they did not in the slightest degree merit.

The protestant cantons of St. Hypolite, Sauve, Quissac, La Salle, and Valleraugue, were selected by the prefect as the theatre of his military operations, and included in his revolutionary proclamation. Fortunately for them, the oppression produced by the presence of a foreign garrison, and by a general seizure of arms, was in some measure compensated by the resistance which the Austrians opposed to the violence of the Miquelets, and the base designs of the local authorities.

As the inhabitants had avoided all ground for reproach and persecution, so they endured, with exemplary patience, the constant provocations to which they were exposed. The following testimony to the good dispositions of the protestants of the Cevennes, and especially of those of the consistorial church of St. Hypolite, has been published by M. Durand, a member of one of the most respectable catholic families of the department.

"In the little town of *St. Hypolite*," says he, "I saw multitudes crowded together, and suffering the most dreadful anxiety; but every door was open to them. For a time labour was suspended, and no occupation was thought worthy of attention, but that of rendering assistance to the unhappy. The most affecting care and hospi-

tality was afforded to all whom danger or fear had driven to the mountains.

"I observed that in their commiseration there was less of softness and more of solemnity than in ordinary pity; — religious principle mingled with the impulse of humanity, and gave it a character more serious and august. There were no tears, no effusions, no complaints. A gloomy silence and a severe sort of virtue was observed by the hospitable hosts, and they received, in return, from the fugitives, but few expressions of gratitude. An immoveable attachment to the persecuted, a pious and heroic firmness, and a simple and unostentatious generosity distinguished all. This religious feeling, which cannot have escaped those who have visited the Cevennes, even in a season of prosperity, was especially impressive in a period of alarm and consternation.

"One day, during excessive heat, our cabriolet had to wind round the side of a mountain in the neighbourhood of St. Hypolite. We descended, and took a shorter and a shady path, which conducted into the middle of a wood. We had for some minutes been silent; when I broke the stillness, and began to sing. On a sudden, a melancholy voice issued from the trees, and we distinguished these words: "Why do you sing, brother, when death is nigh!" Astonished at this apostrophe, we looked around: a herdsman was stationed at a little distance: it was he who had addressed to me the admoni-

tory words, and he immediately proceeded to interrogate us on the affairs of Nismes.

"With such a people, it is persuasion and not force that should be employed; for when this religious sensation is roused to hostility, it produces invincible antagonists. The Cevennois are not enemies to "*the altar and the throne,*" as has been represented. Had they been disposed to rebellion, it was not 2000 Austrians who would have disarmed them; they would have dared to resist even 20,000. Let them but hear the alarm of danger to their brethren, and they could become terrible avengers. Proprietors, artisans, husbandmen, all would become soldiers. Their fowling-pieces would arm them, and, guided by men like themselves, woe to those who should dare to attack them in their mountains! When they were once imprudently threatened, I saw squadrons form as by enchantment,—an infantry organized in an instant,—and the people begin to dig up a quantity of arms whose gothic form and rusty hue announced that they had been long buried in the earth. Old men, men, and lads began their march, to put an end to oppression and outrage; but informed that the government promised severe and repressive measures, they separated and returned to their peaceful and rural labours.

"But even if disarmed, they would not be less fearful antagonists. Take away their arms; but they still have left enough for defence

and even for hostility:—they have the wood of their trees, and the stones of their mountains."

Possessed of such capacities, and with sufficient provocation, these people still practised the forbearance of the Gospel towards their enemies, as well as its charity towards their friends. Nothing could, however, convince their persecutors, because their doubts were wilful. It was their religion that made them formidable, even while it made them amiable.

The primitive and pious M. Gachon was so shamefully misrepresented that he was compelled to discontinue the prayer-meetings which he was accustomed to hold in private houses, and the advantage of which his flock particularly needed in the season of adversity. The part of the building which had long served the protestants for a place of worship was also abandoned to troops who were sent to disarm and oppress them.

The protestants of the church and canton of *Sauve* were equally persecuted, though equally free from charge, and above suspicion. The inhabitants of the town, both catholics and protestants, had formerly occupied the same edifice for their separate worship; and though the arrangement was terminated by the revolutionary fury which, for a short period, suppressed all religious observances, the parties were so well satisfied with each other, that when worship was again permitted, they wished to resume their accustomed habit. They were only prevented by the will of the bishop.

The ancient frankness and charity of the protestants was not at all diminished; and on the appearance of the proscriptive proclamation of M. D'Arbaud Jouques, M. Guerin, the respectable pastor and president of the consistory, addressed to him the following letter:

"Mr. Prefect.—Surrounded by all the members of the consistory, I address you in their name and in the name of the members of our church. If we were guilty, I should have recourse to prayers; but we are far from being in a situation to appeal to the mercy or clemency of the king. Our consciences testify that we have faithfully and invariably rendered to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. You may easily convince yourself of this, Mr. Prefect. Send among us, unknown to us, impartial and honourable men to ascertain our state and our dispositions. They will find a population active and laborious; a population which has fertilized the summits of the highest mountains and the points of the most rugged rocks; a population ardently attached to peace and order, submissive from feeling rather than interest, and convinced that the word of a king is power. They will hear their pastors constantly instruct them to 'fear God, and honour the king.' They will perceive that we support the honour of the throne in all its splendor, force, and extent; that we carry this respect as far as it ought to go, and that we unite in our affections God and the king. These

are the doctrines and sentiments which have been transmitted to us by our ancestors, and which we wish to transmit to our children."

. . . . .

The prefect professed to "believe most firmly that the description contained in this document was strictly true;" but at the same time he took care to abate nothing of the evils which it was designed to avert.

The commune of *Durfort* contains a population of nearly one thousand souls, of whom upwards of *eight hundred* are protestants. Their district is the seat of industry, simplicity, and comfort. Affluence in such a situation is hardly to be expected, but ease and property are generally diffused. This description does not accord with the prevalence of a revolutionary spirit, but it presents motives for jealousy and aggression.

The commissioner delegated to the canton of Ledignan carried his ravages into the next *arrondissement*, and the communes of Durfort and Canaule attracted his cupidity. Assisted by detachments selected from the army of Trestaillons he levied contributions and violated the laws. M. Thomas, an old and respectable inhabitant, still filled the office of mayor: this banditti attacked his house, threatened to whip and sabre his wife and daughter, and "promised themselves the pleasure of shooting the villain of a mayor before his own door." They arrested two brothers, MM. Matthieu, gentlemen universally respected, "because they were Bona-

partists;" but really because they were protestants, and wealthy. The conduct of the commissioner and his band was at length so shameful, that the Austrians were compelled to interfere. They took the inhabitants under their protection, and threatened to shoot the invaders if they did not retire.

Throughout the excesses of the revolution, the protestants of *La Salle* had been distinguished for their moderation, and for their attachment to religion; as the following anecdote will attest. At the period when the Sabbath was abolished, and religion confounded with aristocracy, Alegre, a protestant labourer, 60 years of age, was arrested, and imprisoned for not working on the Sabbath. The first Sabbath after his liberation, he presented himself to the committee, dressed in his *habits de Dimanche*. The committee, doubtless, expecting a denunciation, enquired his business. "Gentlemen," said he, "I am old, and when I have worked hard all the week, I have absolutely need of one day's rest: if I were to go to work on the Sabbath I should not be able to perform half what I ought, and should only rob my employer; I prefer, therefore, if you please, to be sent to prison." The committee were astonished, and dismissed the old man to spend his Sabbath according to his wishes.

Amidst all the recent changes, La Salle had preserved its reputation, but it was not spared: it was included in the unjust and arbitrary pro-

scription. Thus, from one end of the department to another, in every arrondissement, over hundreds of communes, and, in fact, wherever a body of protestants was to be found, the course of persecution was directed; innocence, piety, loyalty, offered no security. The magistracy and the populace united in an infamous coalition, and, during many long and painful months, an immense population, professing the same religion, was abandoned to the most unmerited and cruel torments.

But it was not within the limits of the department that the spirit which actuated the persecutors confined its influence. To other departments, where protestantism had formerly flourished, and where a remnant still maintained its profession, the conduct of the catholics of Nismes furnished an example; and to the bigotted and intolerant every where it presented a signal and an excitement.

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE AVEYRON.

The department of the Aveyron was early distinguished for the number and the zeal of its churches. From 1532 to 1787, it had been the theatre of martyrdom and proscription. In 1802 it only contained a sufficient protestant population to form one consistorial church. — *Saint Afrique* (distant from Nismes 60 miles) is the seat of the consistory. This town, this solitary church of the Aveyron, was selected by " the friends of the altar and the throne," as

the most proper scene for the display of their loyalty and religion.

" It is in vain (said a private communication in the beginning of August, 1815,) that we endeavour to shut our eyes on the truth. A faction exists; its chiefs are concealed, but its power is evident, and its object is avowed. It designs to restore the ages of ignorance and despotism. Fanaticism indulges in too bold a flight for us to doubt either its confidence or its security. Every day it ventures on new efforts, and promises still greater. 'The time,' they say, 'will soon arrive when we shall be at liberty to fall on the protestants and seize their temples.' — 'Down with the black dogs! down with the temples!' are the *loyal* cries with which our deplorable town resounds; and if it does not witness appalling scenes, we shall be especially indebted to that Divine mercy, which protects those it loves, and often out of evil produces good.

" Our position becomes every day more alarming. Madame de R. was lately accosted on the road to her country-house by one of the fanatics, who, mistaking her for a catholic lady, assured her of the approaching destruction of the heretics. 'It is so arranged,' said he, 'that not a black dog will long remain, nor a temple exist.' An involuntary movement of horror discovered to him his mistake, and he abruptly left Madame de R., not a little chagrined at his premature revelation."

The fears expressed in this letter were soon realized. The protestants were torn from their families and dragged to prison; they were stoned in the streets; their pastor was publicly insulted; the windows of his house were beaten in, and the burning of the sanctuary was announced.

The increase of danger gave occasion to an affecting instance of union and devotedness. About twenty young men waited on the pastor of St. Afrique, to apprize him of the determination which they had solemnly formed.

"Our temple," said they, "Sir, is to be set on fire: we have resolved to watch day and night over the sacred building: we will rather die than it shall be abandoned; and we are prepared to bury ourselves under its ruins."

The pastor was exceedingly impressed, but his prudence kept pace with their zeal. "I cannot but admire," said he, "your courage and your attachment to the worship of God; but I wish you also to cherish confidence in Him. You are unduly alarmed: our temple will be preserved; and without your exertions, I will answer for its safety." By such assurances he succeeded in preventing the execution of their project, and rescuing them from certain death. The fury of "the people" would only have been increased by their resistance, and, without saving the temple, they would inevitably have been sacrificed. The conflagration took place on the 20th of August, as will be seen by the following deliberation and address to the prefect by the consistory of the church.

Extract from the Register of the Consistory of St. Afrique.

"The consistory, deeply afflicted at the oppression which weighs on the protestants of the commune of St. Afrique, and particularly at the outrage committed on their place of worship; and convinced of the importance of seeking a remedy for evils so numerous and so great; has thought it best to have recourse to the prefect of the department, and to present to him a statement of the events that have recently occurred, persuaded that he will not be insensible to the distresses of the protestants, but will afford them the redress they so justly demand. In the mean time, the consistory will exhort the reformed patiently to endure their afflictions, and to oppose to the calumnies, injuries, and shameful treatment of which they are the subjects, the humility and moderation which always become the true disciples of Christ.

"During the night of the 18th and 19th, persons, whom we are unwilling to describe, repaired in considerable numbers to the protestant place of worship, got to the top of the building and attempted to carry off the bell. A storm, which suddenly arose, and lasted the greater part of the night, prevented the execution of their project, and they retired, taking with them the clapper, and leaving their ladder, which was removed the next day by order of the authorities. This attempt alarmed the protestants, but they hoped that the authorities, who were fully ap-

prised of the fact, would employ every means to prevent the recurrence of outrage.

"The next day (Saturday), about nine in the evening, several of the same men began to assemble, and proceed in crowds to the gates of the temple.

"The mayor, his adjoint, *two* gendarmes, and a *few* national guards, followed them; but they were unable to arrest their rage and impetuosity — They broke open the door, like madmen, and forced their way into the edifice; at the same time others entered through the apartments of the door-keeper, whose door they also demolished. Immediately they began to pillage and break in pieces every thing they found: the greater part of the objects, on which they wreaked their fury, were carried into the square, and on to the main road adjoining, and set on fire: the seats, the chairs, the minister's gown, the funeral cloaks, the church registers, the religious books, the psalms of the congregation, and the Holy Bible, experienced the same fate. The books of devotion that were not burnt were torn in pieces. The pulpit and the communion-table were demolished. The Commandments, and several passages of Scripture inscribed on the walls, and intended to place before the eyes of the worshippers their duties as citizens and as Christians, and among others this, — "Honour all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, honour the king:" — these precepts, which even heathens would have respected, were covered with mud

and filth. All the windows were broken, and the frames taken out and burnt. Some tore away the iron-work and railings, while others plundered the residence of the door-keeper, devastated the interior, and pulled down the chimney. This horrid scene lasted from nine, Saturday evening, till two o'clock on the Sunday afternoon.

"It is not surprising that the conflagration continued so long a time; for, besides the portico of the temple, the floor of the consistory, the staircase, the pulpit, and the balustrades, the place contained a great number of chairs, and more than one hundred wooden seats, among which was one curiously carved, and designed for the local authorities.

"The streets of the town and the neighbouring hills were illuminated the whole night, and resounded the savage cries of those who danced round the ascending flames. Such has been the atrocious outrage committed on a building consecrated to Christian worship. We abstain from all reflection.

"As from the ruin of their temple, the members of the reformed church are deprived of the public ordinances of religion, the consistory ventures to hope that the prefect will hasten the necessary orders for its reparation, and for the supply, at a fair valuation, of all the articles burnt or demolished. The consistory hopes he will be the more convinced of the justice of their *reclamation*, as the members of the church pur-

chased the ground on which their place of worship was built, and that from the third or fourth purchaser; as they have borne the whole expense of its erection; as all the objects it contained were their private property, and as there could be no greater violation of the sacred right of property, than a refusal to restore their temple to the state in which it was before it was profaned. The consistory would consider it an insult to the prefect to insist more largely: they do not doubt but a magistrate, distinguished by the love of justice and other eminent virtues, will enable the church of St. Afrique to enjoy the privilege of exercising, in full liberty, its religious worship," &c. &c.

The deliberation was accompanied by the following letter from M. Nazon, president of the consistory, and pastor of the church.

" In the midst of these disorders I have had he pleasing consolation to see all the members of my church docile to my instructions, following my advice, and opposing only mildness and silence to violence and persecution. Malignity itself cannot reproach them with the slightest fault, or even the smallest inconsistency. I may positively say of them, that agreeably with the example of their Divine Saviour, they have suffered without deserving to be injured. All my desire is, that the king should be informed of

their innocence and their misfortunes. I cannot believe that he does not wish prosperity to all his subjects, and that he would not rejoice to frustrate the frightful projects of a faction, which desires to renew the persecutions that our ancestors endured. Like them, we should doubtless find a hospitable reception in other lands; but, like them, we should also shed tears of blood on quitting our natal soil," &c. &c.

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE HERAULT.

THE department of L'Herault was formerly a part of Lower Languedoc, and always celebrated in the History of the French reformation. Even as early as 1417, Catherine Sorbe was burnt at Montpellier for denying the supremacy of the church of Rome; and almost all the sanguinary executions which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes were consummated in that city.

In 1790, attempts, similar to those made at Nismes and Uzès by "the friends of the altar and the throne," threatened the extermination of the descendants of the Huguenots; but after that period, the protestants enjoyed complete security, and lived in perfect harmony with their catholic fellow-citizens. On the promulgation of the new system of the First Consul, the scattered communes were ranged under the four consistorial churches of *Montpellier*, *Montagnac*, *Ganjes*, and *Massilargues*.

The Bourbons had no sooner entered France than the harmony which had so long subsisted was disturbed, and the security of the protestants was exchanged for alarm and danger. In 1814, they were insulted in the streets, attacked in their houses, surrounded by mobs, who sang the celebrated songs, and were often obliged to seek safety in obscurity and flight. On the second restoration all these disorders were renewed with aggravated atrocity.

The consistorial church of *Montpellier*, and *Pignan*, *Villerciгac*, *Cournon*, and *Cournonteral*, dependent on that consistory, were called to endure sufferings similar to those which afflicted the churches of the Gard.

The following address from the protestants of *Pignan* to M. Floriac, prefect of the department, will present some idea of their unmerited oppression.

"M. Prefect. — The undersigned, protestants, inhabitants and landed proprietors of the commune of Pignan, have the honour to inform you that for the last *eight months* they have been forced, by the persecutions of the vilest agitators, to abandon their homes and all their occupations.

"Submissive to the laws, peaceable, and just in their relations with their fellow-citizens, they had no reason to anticipate the shameful persecution of which they have been the victims. All their guilt consists in their being protest-

ants. No sounds, but those of proscription meet their ears, and they are become vagabonds to escape death. After suffering every species of vexation, several of their relatives have perished by the hands of murderers. M. Galabert, who had several times experienced their cruelty, seeing a fresh troop enter his house, and expecting a thousand tortures, blew out his brains with a pistol, and expired at their feet. Unaffected by this awful spectacle, they passed over his corpse to plunder his house, and immediately after proceeded to that of M. Verdier. Not contented with pillaging his premises, and beating him in the most brutal manner, they dragged him to the communal house, whence he only escaped by paying the sum of 300 francs.

"Arrested without any order, or any legal warrant, the protestants are taken to Montpellier, and thrown into dungeons, where they groan without pity, and almost without hope.

"M. Prefect, we demand not vengeance; that we leave to Him by whom sooner or later such crimes will certainly be punished. If we are guilty, there are the laws and the tribunals to judge, and to condemn us; but if we are faithful subjects, and useful members of society, we demand, what no individual is denied in any civilized nation, the security of our persons and our property. Confiding in your justice, we have the honour to remain," &c. &c.

Oppressed and restrained as they were under the reign of terror, *forty* of the principal protestants had the courage to sign this address; but just and temperate as it was, it produced no effect, and the crimes continued. After numerous acts of outrage, the vengeance of the catholics was directed against the temple. They hallowed the Sabbath, by setting fire to the sanctuary, and, as the beams of the roof successively fell, instead of the hymns of praise which were wont to ascend from the sacred spot, the air was rent with shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*"

This temple was erected at the expense of the protestants, and was the more interesting to its possessors as it was the first built after the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

The temples of *Cournonteral* and *Villeveirac* were not spared; they were entirely devastated, and only escaped conflagration because their situation in the interior of their communes endangered other buildings. The inhabitants of these places, as well as those of Cournon, were mercilessly persecuted and dragged to prison, without authority, and although perfectly innocent.

At the expiration of *two years* the inhabitants of the commune of *Villeveirac* were compelled to present the following petitions to the prefect and the minister of the interior.

"Villeveirac, August 10. 1817.

"M. Prefect,

"The undersigned inhabitants of the commune of Villeveirac, have the honour to inform you, that public order was again disturbed last Sunday, (the 3d of August, 1817,) at ten o'clock at night, by the same persons, who, during the last twenty-five months, have committed all kinds of mischief with perfect impunity. A number of individuals, at the head of whom were a lieutenant of the national guard, and a standard-bearer, made a farandole in the streets, to the sound of the drum, beaten by the drummer of the national guard, and accompanied with the most horrid cries; they attacked several citizens, and so beat and wounded them, that it was with difficulty their lives were preserved. —'We will have none of them! not one of them shall remain!' and similar well known exclamations revealed their intentions.

"Reflect, Sir, on the series of calamities of which we have been the miserable subjects for twenty-five months, and you will perceive that it will be worthy of your wisdom to terminate our sufferings. Let it not be said, 'the temple of justice is open to your complaints!' An attempt to obtain justice would only ensure legal impunity to the authors of the disorders; especially when they have been committed under the eyes of the authorities, by one part of the population against another, without any measures being taken to repress the evils or prevent

their recurrence. Besides, by what means could we support our prosecution? If we produced the testimony of the persons pillaged and persecuted, we should be told, such evidence was partial and suspicious. If we appealed to moderate men, who groan at all these events, terror would seal their lips. Must we then address ourselves to the disturbers themselves? certainly this would be to afford them a double triumph.

"The house of M. Durge was broken open, his windows destroyed, himself, his wife, and his children obliged to climb the roof to save themselves from murderers. The doors of Siau and Reynard demolished. The harvest of Casse entirely ravaged. Nagarde, garde-champêtre, deprived of the use of his hands by blows of a sickle; Aaron Brousset, Jean Pons, the widow Ricard, Antoine Sigàle and his wife, Pierre Jeantet, Jean Didac, and many other individuals, attacked, and dangerously wounded in the fields and in the streets. The temple, where our fathers worshipped God, profaned and devastated. Ourselves prevented from assembling to offer the Father of mercies the worship that he claims. Our minister insulted and menaced by the vilest rabble, after having received from the mayor (decorated with his scarf, and accompanied by the national guard) the order to descend from the pulpit of truth. Such is the analysis, Mons. Prefect, of the atrocities under which we languish; atrocities which the government has known by public notoriety, and of which it has

been expressly informed by us, without having afforded the smallest mitigation of our sufferings. When the first officers of the judicial and administrative police are inattentive to facts of which they are perfectly informed, and which they witness, would it be prudent in us to bring our case before their tribunals? How is it possible to repress the audacity of the persecutors, when they have for a shield the protection of their leaders?

"We might enlarge the statement of our grievances. The son of the present mayor, captain of the national guard, went through the streets on the Sunday, and ordered the most respectable citizens, with the most brutal language, and horrid imprecations, to shut themselves in their houses at four o'clock, on pain of being shot. Since then, we have been obliged to close our doors before sun-set. The persecutors have also determined to appropriate the parts of the heaths which we have purchased: every day they grub them up; and if we threaten them with the law on this subject, in return, they threaten to burn us in our houses. A party of the national guard formally applied to one of the proprietors, as long ago as last March, and assured him, that if he and the other purchasers did not cede their rights, they should never have peace in the village.

"Further, several members of the local consistory, and two protestant ladies, were invited by the mayor to a conference with him at the

mayoralty: he there proposed to them to cede the protestant temple, for a communal house, and promised that if they complied, he would guarantee their tranquillity for the future. The answer could not be doubtful: they told the mayor, that the temple, having been purchased for all the protestants, was common property; and that, belonging to every individual, they had neither the power, nor the right to make the cession.

"What painful reflections are suggested by this rash and insulting proposition, when those who ought to set a public example are the first to trifle with all that is most sacred in morals, by attempting to destroy the equal liberty of worship guaranteed by the charter!

"A powerful consideration has determined us, M. Prefect, to remind you, on this occasion, of the course of our sufferings. The persecutors boast of their design to renew their horrible conduct at an approaching period; and experience has taught us that at the time of harvest they always occasion disturbances, that they may drive away the larger proprietors, and devastate their lands, and seize the fruit of their industry.

"We hope, M. Prefect, that you will find in your wisdom the means of preventing and terminating such scandalous scenes.

"Signed by twenty-six of the inhabitants of the commune, the most rated to the government."

The petition to the Prefect was enclosed in a memorial addressed to the Minister of the Interior.

" MONSIEUR,

" We have the honour to enclose a copy of the communication presented to the Prefect, the 10th of this month, containing a sketch of the crimes which have afflicted a third of the population of this commune since July, 1815.

" Of what are we accused? 'With having 'taken arms in defence of the usurper?' His appearance excited among us the same alarm as in France in general. 'With having suppressed the enthusiasm of the people on the 'return of the king?' Our hopes have always equalled our submission. 'With being 'dangerous persons interested in promoting dis- 'orders?' The complainants are the citizens the most heavily taxed, and the undersigned pay the half of the whole land-tax of the commune. Order, peace and justice, are essential to their interests.

" The sentiments ascribed to us, are only designed to sanction hatred and persecution. The real cause of all our sufferings is our attachment to the religion of our fathers.

" Not a single protestant is included in the national guard. They are all disarmed, and deprived even of their fowling-pieces and walking-sticks.

" The commune furnishes *six* electors: *five*

are among the complainants to your Excellency, *one* of whom pays as much in taxes as all the present national guard.

"During *twenty-five* months, our persons have been the daily sport of the vilest of the populace. Our harvests have been plundered; the garde-champêtre, deprived of the use of his hands, and mangled with a sickle, has not been replaced, on purpose that robberies, not being legally proveable without his evidence, might not be punished.

"Every thing has transpired under the eye of the local authority, and the supreme authority has been fully informed; but nothing indicates the probable termination of our sufferings.

"Is there, then, neither mercy nor security for us, who only ask to be permitted to live under the protection of the laws, whose submission is sufficiently proved by unbroken silence under all our sufferings? who have only resolved to complain at the foot of the throne, when the excess of our calamities makes us envy the Greeks the happiness they enjoy under the iron yoke of the barbarous Turks?

"It is not punishment we solicit; for such is the organization of the machine in these unhappy countries, that the punishment of robbers and assassins would only be the signal for more dreadful crimes; we confine ourselves to the following observations: —

"1. The action of the laws must be fettered as long as those who ought to put them in force are interested in the existing evils.

"2. The protection of our persons and property ought not to be confided to men without consideration, or to wretches who have more to gain by causing tumult than by maintaining tranquillity.

"3. The police of our towns and villages ought not to be exercised by passionate, interested, or subservient men, actuated by principles opposed to those which the government has proclaimed as essential to general harmony.

"If these remarks are received as we hope, your Excellency will enjoy the blessing of all good men, and we shall remain, &c. &c." *

* *Extracts from the Register of the Central Consistory of the Reformed Church of Montpellier.*

November 12th, 1816.—The consistory assembled at the usual time and place. The session was commenced by prayer, M. Cazelle, pastor of the churches of Cette and Villeveirac communicated an account of the events of last Sunday, the details of which were contained in a letter addressed to the prefect.

"'M. Prefect, 'Montpellier, Nov. 12th, 1816.

"'In consequence of the letter which I had the honour to address to you on the 6th, I went last Sunday to Villeveirac, to lead the worship, which had been interrupted during *eighteen months.* I had previously informed the mayor of my intention, and he came from his country-house at 10 o'clock on the Sunday morning. He then said, "Sir, I shall take no responsibility. Bring a letter from the prefect, and I give you my word, that having more power, I will do all I can to preserve tranquillity; but I wish you

The complaints and the observations in these memorials from Villeveirac were equally applicable to other communes in the department.

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would not come to disturb that which we now enjoy. Besides, Sir, I am wholly unacquainted with you; where are your titles? There are but few protestants here, and is a church necessary for such a handful? However, you are wise, act as you think proper." — I replied, that this language did not much accord with his assurances of protection, — that I had invariably inculcated peace and union, — that my past conduct was a pledge for the future, — that I thought it incumbent on him as a magistrate to preserve the peace, — and that if he did not know me, the members of the consistory of Villeveirac would satisfy him as to who I was.

" 'I proceeded to the temple, but scarcely had I begun prayer, when the mayor appeared in costume, accompanied by some national guards under arms, and exclaimed, " M. Pastor, in the name of the law, I beg you will retire, for there is already an uproar in the village." I instantly obeyed; but in descending from the pulpit, I exhorted my flock to patience and resignation. I was the first to leave the place, and I only saw two women in the street: I bowed to them, and they returned the salutation. Every body was then at high mass. Such is the true state of the case. Accept, M.r Prefect, the assurance of profound respect.

(Signed) " ' Cazelle, Pastor.'

" It was resolved, That the letter be presented to the prefect by the pastor Cazelle, and a deputation of the consistory, composed of M. Michel president, M. Lissignol pastor, and MM. Mezille and Aubrespy; and that a copy be inserted in the register."

" December 27th, 1816. — The consistory assembled at the usual time and place. The session was opened by

At *Massillargues*, the strength of the protestant population afforded some protection to the members of that consistorial church; for

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prayer. M. Cavelle presented an address to the prefect, containing the account of the occurrences at Villeveirac, December 19th.

" 'M. Prefect, 'December 27th, 1816.

" 'Authorized by his majesty Louis XVIII., by your letter of the 18th, and by a letter from the mayor of Villeveirac, I did not expect further opposition to the performance of my duty. The result has blasted my hopes.

" 'In conformity with what you said, relative to the time of worship, I wrote to the mayor to inform him, that we were willing to meet between the two catholic masses; and, unless he advised to the contrary, fixed on nine o'clock in the morning. I waited in vain for an answer; and being refused admission to the communal house, we repaired to the temple at half-past nine. Before we went, shouts and threats were heard from an adjoining public-house, where a party was assembled; as we proceeded they became louder; and when we arrived they were more violent. It was particularly distressing to observe the infatuation of the people, who mingled shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" with their sanguinary vociferations. Alarmed at the appearance of affairs, but few ventured to meet, and we dispensed with a sermon. Seven of us humbled ourselves before the Lord, and entreated him to protect us from the dangers by which we were surrounded, and he did not forsake us.

" 'Emboldened by the silence of the mayor, the people ran about the village, dancing to the sound of a drum, and menacing the protestants, and especially the pastor. "Down with the Huguenots!" "Down with the brigands!" "Down with the temple,—they shall not go there!" "We will murder him!" (speaking of the pastor,) resounded on every side. All this occurred between the two masses.

before they began their attacks, the persecutors always took care to be superior to the persecuted either in numerical or military force; but

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" 'The mayor went out and took away the drum-sticks; but he did not attempt to disperse them, nor to silence their horrid imprecations. Many of them belonged to the national guard; and among others there were the drummer and ensign-bearers.—On returning home, I was endangered by a serjeant. Several protestants were ill treated, and the tumult continued all the day, and the greater part of the night. I submit this faithful recital to your justice and impartiality.'

(Signed) " 'CAZELLE, Pastor.

" It was resolved, That the exposé be adopted, and that it be presented to the prefect by a deputation of the two pastors, and two elders."

" February 28th, 1817.—The consistory assembled at the usual time and place. The session was commenced by prayer.

" The president read a letter from the consistory of Cette, stating, that the consistory being informed from unquestionable authority that its pastor could not visit Villeveirac without imminent danger, and at the hazard of his life, had resolved to oppose any visits in future from the pastor, till order and security were restored and established.

It was resolved, That a copy of the said communication be sent to the prefect, and that the president address to him, in the name of the consistory, the following letter.

" 'M. Prefect.

" 'The central consistory having this day considered a letter addressed to me by the consistory of Cette, has desired me to present you with a copy. You will see that M. Cazelle cannot visit Villeveirac without rashly exposing himself to the greatest danger. The consistory observe

it was not exempt from the general calamity. Lunel, a considerable town on the high road from Nismes to Montpellier was frequently in-

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with regret, that so long as the conduct of the authorities is in opposition to the charter and the public safety, there can be no security for the protestant worship.

"'You had the goodness to assure us, that you had given orders for the preservation of the peace on the day fixed for our worship; but allow us to inform you, that it is not a temporary calm on a specified day, or partial measures, that can ensure our security; on the contrary, it is necessary that whenever the duties of M. Cazelle summon him to Villeveirac, he may enjoy the liberty and protection which the law affords. Have the goodness, M. Prefect, to honour me with an answer. I shall confidently expect this. I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) "'Michel, Preses.'"

"March 26th, 1817.—The consistory assembled as usual: the session was opened by prayer. No communication being reported from the prefect, it was resolved, That the following letter to the prefect be adopted and presented.

"'M. Prefect,

"'The central consistory yesterday expected the communication which you promised me in answer to the letter from the consistory of the 28th of February. It is the more important, M. Prefect, to know what measures have been taken to suppress the malevolent, as the attempt to murder two protestants of Cournonteral on Sunday last appears to be connected with what occurred at Villeveirac. Accounts have reached us, on which we depend, but which we cannot yet attest, stating, that some national guards of Villeveirac, among whom was one called Trestaillons, were seen the same day at Cournonteral. Crimes unpunished necessarily produce others; the evil extends, till it is difficult to ascertain where it will stop.

vaded, and the protestants, who are a small and wealthy minority, were subjected to every species of oppression.

The church of *Montagnac* had its full share of the cup of affliction. The temples of *Montagnac* and *Vallemangue* were both devastated; and it was only the contiguity of the property of good catholics, which prevented the destruction of those buildings by fire.

Such was the violence of the persecution at Montagnac, that the loss sustained by M. Cazelle, a protestant related to the pastor of Villeveirac, amounted *to sixty thousand* francs, or *two thousand five hundred* pounds sterling.

The existence of animosity and persecution in towns and departments still more distant from Nismes, the metropolis of protestantism, might easily be described; but enough has been recorded for the ends of justice.

After the review which the two last chapters have afforded, it can no longer be imagined,

" 'Be pleased, M. Prefect, to answer us as soon as possible, and relieve us from the perplexity your silence has occasioned. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) " 'MICHEL, Preses.' "

From the specimen which these extracts furnish, it will be seen that the statements in this work are not collected from vague reports, — that the trouble and anxiety of the protestants was incalculable, — that their conduct was regular and dignified, and that the spirit of the magistrates was one of the principal causes of their protracted sufferings.

that the calamities which the protestants endured were either the temporary ebullitions of angry mobs, or the local collisions of particular interests. The British reader will not think of comparing them with the riots of London, or the conflagrations of Birmingham; and the inhabitants of the continent, where the governments are absolute, and popular movements seldom witnessed, will know that such events could not have been prolonged for many months, and even for years, over a vast extent of country, without systematic and powerful support in the higher departments of the state.

Since the two last chapters were printed, Lavie, one of the murderers of Hermet of Milhaud, (see p. 295) has been tried and condemned. Several of the witnesses, as Chastellier, the mayor, and Cambon, captain of the national guard, were partizans of the banditti, and of course in their examination they endeavoured to suppress every fact that might criminate themselves as well as the prisoner. But the whole evidence produced by the procureur-général confirms the correctness of the history contained in this work, and even proves that the accounts furnished by the protestants, so far from being exaggerated, are below the truth. For these reasons, and as they concern the rural communes of the arrondissement of Nismes, these important legal proceedings are recorded in this place.

The cause was removed, by the court of cassation, from the department of the Gard to the department of Puy de Dome, on the ground of *suspicion légitime*, and afterwards, on the application of the prisoner, to the department of the Aude.

The trial commenced December 7th, 1820, before the cour d'Assises of the Aude. The procureur général of Nismes was the prosecutor.

Thirty-six witnesses were subpœnaed by the procureur général. The prisoner produced *none* in his defence. The *first* witness, M. Chastellier, mayor of Milhaud in 1815, deposed, that, in the night of the 20th of August, a band of 25 or 30 armed men came into the commune and demanded so many heads, or 10,000 francs; that he told them, there were no Buonapartists, and the sum they asked was too great; and that after providing them with food, he pretended to go and fetch some money. To several questions from the president, the witness replied, that some days after, it was said in the commune, that Lavie was the chief of the band; that he did not know how much money was given to the banditti, nor on whom it was levied; that Cambon, captain of the national guard, was charged with the remittance; that he was ignorant where, or to whom it was paid; and finally that the *superior authorities had never required from him, any information of what passed in his commune.*

When confronted with the accused, the witness thought he was about the same height and figure as the chief of the band.

The *second* witness, Cambon, captain of the national guard, deposed to similar facts, and added that a band of about 80 men attacked the house of M. Pecherol, and was with great difficulty induced to retire, by the promise of money. That the next morning, furnished with the stipulated contribution, he went to Nismes, but about 100 yards before he reached the town, he met eight or ten persons, who told him, they had begun to suspect he would not bring the money, and that then they should have returned to Milhaud at night. He also declared that he neither knew where, nor to whom he was to pay the money; that he dared not reveal the circumstance to the authorities; and that although he had negotiated with the brigands, he could not recognize one individual!

Deveze, the *third* witness, was deputy mayor of *Uchaud* in 1815. The 20th of August, two bands, one of 300, and the other of 600, presented themselves at one o'clock in the morning. The first, composed principally of persons in the national guard, produced a list, and demanded the heads of 12 inhabitants, or 10,000 francs. They agreed finally to take 1,200, and were paid by the twelve proscribed persons. The second band made the same demand, and received 1,500 francs. The men

were arranged in ranks under the walls of the church. Lavie was one of the chiefs, and the murderer of Hermet.

Lienard of *Bernis*, aged 65 years, was the *fourth* witness. He passed over several other invasions. On the 20th of August, some brigands broke open his gate, and entered his court; one of them cried "In the corridor, the last door on the left." This was the chamber in which he slept; he was surrounded by all his family. They attempted to force the door; he opened it, and instantly the prisoner and Coussin, of Nismes, put their sabres to his breast, and demanded 4000 francs. "I have no more money," said he, "You know *Trestaillons* has visited me already." The prisoner then exclaimed, "Very well, he must be served as I served him at Milhaud," and he was dragged into the corridor. His daughter, Emilie, rushed between the murderers and her father, and offered her life to save his. This noble devotedness disconcerted the wretches. They overran the apartments, pillaged or broke all they could find, packed their booty in sacks and petticoats, set the house on fire, and retired. One of them forgot his musquet, and a comrade finding it, denounced M. Lienard to the authorities for having arms concealed in his house; and the next day, he was obliged to justify himself before the mayor. The band went through the commune, and exacted from the inhabitants 6000 francs, which were paid by the municipal

council.—Emilie, daughter of the witness, was called, and on entering the hall, and beholding the murderer of her father, fainted; her evidence could hardly be heard for sobs; and when she related the fact of her saving her father's life, she fainted the second time and fell into his arms.

Louis Arnaud, 60 years of age, was the *sixth* witness. In the middle of the night his house was attacked. Coussin attempted to shoot him, but his musquet missing fire, the prisoner said "I will kill him with the fusil that shot him of Milhaud." His shutters were pierced with ball. He opened his door; six bayonets were at his breast; they told him to make haste and say his prayers. "I have said them," he replied, and opening his waistcoat, exclaimed, "Fire, and do not make me suffer." Three of them forced him to borrow money of his neighbours; while the others plundered his house and took 200 francs, which they found on the premises.

Soulier, the present mayor of Milhaud, deposed that the banditti told the late mayor that *they did not come without orders*, and gave him at the same time a list of the persons by whom the money demanded was to be paid.

Brun assisted to remove the body of Hermet, and observed five wounds. A few days after, he met the prisoner armed with a musket and sabre, who told him that he was *hunting the Christians*.

The widow of Hermet, who was the next witness, requested not to see the culprit. She deposed that the protestants having heard they were to be massacred at night, fled into the country. In the confusion she was separated from her husband; her friends allayed her fears by telling her that he was among the numerous protestants who were scattered over the commune. Returning into the village the next morning, she found the dead body of her husband, in her home. The deputy mayor told her that the chief of the band had given a list of nine persons to the mayor, assuring him that they did not come *without orders*. Her evidence was frequently interrupted by her sobs, and the tears of the audience. The emotion was increased, when the afflicted widow presented the vest and hat of her husband, which she had religiously preserved. *

Henry, shoe-maker of *Milhaud*, was the *fifteenth* witness. He was at Nismes in the dress of the national guard, when a gendarme took him into a public-house, where a party was preparing for a descent on Milhaud. They proposed to him to join them, and on his refusal they upbraided him with not being a good royalist: "*Vous n'êtes pas donc bon royalist.*"—He replied "*Je le suis, mais non pour faire le mal.*"

* Hermet was the *chanteur* of the protestant temple, and one of his pastors assured the author, that he was an example of gentleness, piety and zeal.

Cros, another witness, proved that Cambon, captain of the national guard, had sought in several public-houses in Nismes, the persons to whom he was to pay the contribution, and at last gave it to Cadet.

Polge, inn-keeper, of *Milhaud*, deposed, that after the murder of Hermet, three individuals came to sup at his house; that Cambon, captain of the national guard, recommended him to give them all they wished, but not to take any money, as he would engage to see him paid. He reluctantly acknowledged that Lavie was one of the principal criminals.

Anne Mazel described the murder and devastation which occurred, and stated that her husband, being one of the proscribed, paid his share of the 600 francs, out of which the mayor *repaid himself the ten napoleons he had advanced the night before.*

The widow Brés, of *Aubord*, declared, that the day after the murder some brigands came to her house, and demanded refreshment; that the prisoner boasted of having committed the murder, placed his sword, stained with blood, on the table, and told her she would run no danger, *because she was protected by the catholics.* They left at her house several sacks filled with linen, &c.

François Valentin, of *Milhaud*, had known the prisoner for thirty years. The day after the murder he told him, "It is I who command in Milhaud; I am master of the village;

I will answer for you, but I have a list of twenty-seven names."

Jeanne Paul met the prisoner one day in the country, with his arms; and, on asking him where he was going, he replied, "We are going to *hunt the Christians as much as we can.*"—Nous allons à la chasse des Chretiens tant que nous pouvons. *

She received several visits from the prisoner, who wished to see her husband; but, fearing for his life, she sought the protection of Cambon, captain of the national guard. Cambon replied, "Lavie comes on purpose to kill him: I cannot save him; though he may attempt to escape; he is a dead man; his life hangs by a thread."

The prisoner was found guilty of robbery and murder, and condemned to death.

* In *patois*, "Anan à la casso d'aon chrestian tant que pouden."

CHAP. X.

STATE OF NISMES IN OCTOBER, 1815. — HOUSES DEVASTATED. — MASSACRE OF THE 16TH. — M. DURAND'S ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF LICHAIRE. — EVIDENCE ON THE TRIAL OF SERVANT, NOVEMBER 25. 1819. — MURDER OF LAFOND. — TRESTAILLONS ARRESTED BY GENERAL LAGARDE. — CONDUCT OF THE PREFECT. — FÊTE IN HONOUR OF THE DUKE D'ANGOULÊME. — TUMULT IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES ON M. D'ARGENSON'S SPEECH. — THE DUKE D'ANGOULÊME AT NISMES. — LIBERATION OF TRESTAILLONS DEMANDED. — ATTEMPT TO OPEN THE PROTESTANT TEMPLE. — DREADFUL OUTRAGE. — GENERAL LAGARDE SHOT. — PROTESTANTS KILLED AND WOUNDED. — TEMPLE RAVAGED. — PROCLAMATIONS. — RETURN OF THE DUKE D'ANGOULÊME. — INTERVIEW WITH THE CONSISTORY. — LETTER OF THE DEPUTIES OF THE GARD. — ROYAL ORDONNANCE. — PARTIALITY OF THE MAGISTRATES. — THE FIRST SUNDAY OF DECEMBER. — PROTESTANTS ATTACKED IN THE COUNTRY. — STATE OF THE PRISONS. — CONVERSIONS. — BAPTISMS. — LETTER OF CAMBON. — LETTER OF M. JUILLERAT. — TEMPLE OPENED 21ST DECEMBER. PROTESTANTS FORCED TO CONCEDE THEIR TWO TEMPLES. PROCLAMATION OF THE MAYOR. — CONDUCT OF THE PREFECT. — HISTORY OF THE TEMPLES. — CONDUCT OF THE CONSISTORY. — LETTER OF THE DUKE D'ANGOULÊME. — WORSHIP CELEBRATED. — PERSECUTION AT SOMMIERES ON CHRISTMAS DAY. — M. MOUNIER ATTACKED.

While the obscure and remote communes of the department suffered every species of persecution, it can hardly be supposed that

Nismes enjoyed peace and security. In order to trace more distinctly the course of events in the several arrondissemens, the history has advanced in the two last chapters beyond the date of the occurrences at Nismes. The state of that city has only been described to the end of September, and it will therefore be necessary to return to that period.

October commenced without any improvement in the principles or the measures of the government; and its progress was marked by the increasing disorder of 'the people.' After a few days of apparent calm, which was merely the lassitude occasioned by exhaustion, pillage and murder were renewed with fresh rigour and audacity. Several houses in the Quartier St. Charles were sacked, and the wrecks were collected and burnt in the street, amidst songs, dances, and shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" The mayor appeared, but the joyous multitude pretended not to know him; and when he ventured for once to remonstrate, they told him that his presence was not needed, and that he might retire.

Encouraged by the inactivity of the magistrates, and the timidity of the persecuted, the populace became still more outrageous. On the 14th of October the protestant gardeners, who had returned to their homes in the faubourgs, on the faith of promises and proclamations, were attacked, plundered, and on the point of being murdered. Similar assaults were

made on the protestants in the city; and fifteen houses were pillaged in honour of religion and loyalty. The following day the protestants, of whatever class, sex, or age, could not appear in the streets without danger; — they looked forward to the night with dreadful forebodings. The scenes that occurred would have been thought horrid in other countries, and even in France in other times: but every thing is comparative; and the protestants were so accustomed to bloodshed, that they congratulated themselves that they had only to suffer heavy ransoms, and plunder, terror, and alarm. The morning exhibited the royalists publicly sharing their spoils, and collecting, for conflagration, what they were not disposed to appropriate. During the day (16th), every preparation announced a night of carnage: orders for assembling, and signals for attack, were circulated with regularity and confidence. Trestaillons reviewed his satellites, and stimulated them to the crimes he wished them to perpetrate. It is known that with one of these wretches he held the following conversation:—

"If all the protestants, without one exception, are to be killed, I will cheerfully join; but, as you have so often deceived me in our expeditions, unless they are all to go, I will not stir."

"Come along, then, said Trestaillons, for this time not a single man shall escape."

It is also known that arrangements were made to fulfil to the letter this horrible promise.

Eight hundred men, divided into bands, were to have gone through the fauxbourgs. On a certain signal they were to have been joined by their partizans from the country; and then the massacre was to have commenced:—a massacre, in which a catholic, giving an asylum to a protestant, was to be treated as a protestant. On the part of the magistrates, or the commissaries of police, not the slightest precaution appears to have been taken, nor even the smallest attention to have been paid to the proceedings of the conspirators: they all retired to rest, certain of their own safety, and leaving the city to the mercy and discretion of hundreds of accomplished murderers. General La Garde, commandant of the department, alone offered serious and timely opposition to the bloody enterprise; and, as he could only be informed by the civil authorities, he was not aware of the extent of the danger. At ten o'clock he perceived the dreadful truth, and felt that not a moment was to be lost. Crowds were advancing by the faubourg de Sauve and the Cours Neuf; the streets were filled with ruffians, uttering the most horrid imprecations; the dwellings of citizens who professed religious opinions for which they were only accountable to God, were broken open and ravaged; shrieks of anguish and despair were heard from the tops of the houses, where, as a last resort, many had taken refuge; and the frequent reports of fire-arms announced the march and the triumph of crime.

The générale sounded at eleven o'clock, and added to the confusion which was now spreading through the city. A few troops rallied round the Count La Garde, who was wrung with distress at the height at which the evil had arrived.

It is impossible to describe or imagine the horror of the scene. M. Durand, an advocate, a catholic, and son of the architect to the department, has given the following account of what transpired under his own eye:—

"It was near midnight; my wife, who had retired to bed, was just falling asleep, and I was writing by her side, when we were disturbed by a distant noise. It appeared as though the drums beat the générale, and crossed the town in every direction. My wife, in alarm, enquired what all this could mean; and, in order to allay her apprehensions, I replied that it probably announced the arrival or departure of some troops of the garrison. But firing and shouts were immediately audible; and, on opening my window, I distinguished horrible imprecations, mingled with cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" I roused an officer who lodged in the house, and M. Chancel, director of the public works. We went out together, and gained the boulevarde. The moon shone bright, and every object was nearly as distinct as in the day. A furious crowd was pressing on, vowing extermination, and the greater part half naked, armed with muskets, knives, sticks, and sabres. I enquired repeatedly the

history of the tumult, and was informed 'that the massacre was general, and that in the fauxbourgs several were already killed.' M. Chancel retired to put on his uniform, as captain of the *pompiers*; the officer repaired to the barracks; and, anxious for my wife, I returned home. By the noise I was convinced that persons followed: I crept along in the shadow of the wall, opened my door, entered and closed it, leaving, however, a small aperture, that, unperceived, I might watch the movements of the party, whose arms shone in the moonlight. In a few moments some armed men appeared, conducting a prisoner to the very spot where I was concealed. At this I was not surprised, as, for some time past, any brigand had the right to seize and imprison a citizen, without any authority but his own will. They stopped. I now shut gently the door; but, being unwilling to lose sight of the party, I mounted an alder-tree, planted against the wall of the garden. The foliage covered me; I looked over the top of the wall; and what a scene!—the mere recollection chills me with horror. A man, on his knees, implored mercy from wretches who mocked his agony, and loaded him with abuse. 'In the name of my wife and children,' said he, 'spare me!—what have I done?—why would you murder me for nothing?'—A cold sweat stood on my forehead: my agitation was insupportable; and though a hundred fiends would have beset my house in an instant, and I was alone to defend

my wife and family, I was on the point of crying out and menacing the murderers with vengeance. I had not long to deliberate: the discharge of several fusils terminated my suspense; and the unhappy supplicant, struck in the loins and the head, fell, to rise no more. The assasins were in the shade under the wall; and their backs were turned towards the tree. Of course I could not recognize them; and they immediately retired, reloading their pieces.

"I descended, and approached the dying man. I found him in his blood, disfigured, and uttering deep and dismal groans. At first I thought of carrying him into the house; but I perceived that his wounds were mortal, and I remembered that his removal would designate my house to his murderers. Some national guards arrived at the moment, and I again retired, closed the door, and listened. 'What do I see?' said one, 'a dead man!'—'He sings still,' said another, (some groans escaped the sufferer in the agonies of death.)—'They have tickled him,' said a third, 'and that is not amiss; but it will be better to finish him, and put an end to his misery.'—Five or six muskets were instantly fired—the groans ceased.

"Should any refuse to believe such complicated horrors, I can excuse their incredulity. I *witnessed them*, and yet I am frequently obliged to assure myself that all was not a dream. The next morning, from the break of day, I began to send to all the commissaries of police for au-

thority to remove the body to the hospital. Some of these gentlemen were in bed, and others were out. At length, by dint of application, about eleven o'clock, I received the permission. One word more; and I shudder while I write. Crowds came to inspect and to insult the deceased. The day after a massacre was always observed as a sort of fête: every occupation was left to go and gaze upon the victims. A wretch, who wished to gratify 'the people,' took the pipe from his own mouth, and placed it in the mouth of the corpse. The jokes and merriment of the spectators rewarded the exertions of this friend of "the altar and the throne.' All this I saw."

It was the death of Louis Lichaire, the father of four children, that M. Durand witnessed. Four years after the event, (Nov. 25. 1819,) the writer verified this account by his oath, on the trial of Servant, one of the murderers. The depositions of other witnesses, and the whole proceedings of that trial, are so illustrative of the history of the period, that they ought not to be entirely omitted in the relation of the occurrences of the night of the 16th of October.

The *first* witness lived in the same house as the deceased. After the générale was beaten, violent and repeated knocks at the door were heard, and admission was demanded in the name of the king. The real object of their search was the nephew; but they determined to have a victim, and they ordered Lichaire, the uncle,

to descend. He hesitated, and one of the party levelled his musket. The wife sprang forward, and turned aside the muzzle. Resistance was useless: they led Lichaire out of his house. His wife attempted to follow, but was compelled to return. They had not proceeded far when they shot their prisoner, near the residence of M. Durand."

Third witness. "I heard the report of fire-arms, and, with my nephew, ran to the spot. Lichaire was lying on the ground, and had covered his face. I spoke to him, but received no answer: a patrole approached, and I retired. They immediately fired at Lichaire, and finished the business."

A juryman. "Why did you not call to this patrole of national guards for assistance?"—Witness. "Because there were all sorts of men in the guard."

A juryman. "Was this patrole ordered by the magistrates?" —Witness. "No."

The President. "Were there any protestants in the national guard?"—Witness. "No."

Fifth witness. "I heard one of the national guard say, 'This b—— has a life like a cat: they have begun, and I will render him the last service.'"

Sixth witness. "I was in bed, but got up and went out. After the murder of Lichaire, one of the murderers came up to me, struck me on the shoulder, and said, 'All persons without

arms ought to put out their lights, and go in doors.' "

The Procureur-général. "Why were not you in the national guard?"—Witness. "Because I am a protestant."

Seventh witness. "One of the party told me that the deceased threw himself on his neck, and entreated him to save him; but that, in spite of his good-will, he could not, without compromising himself."

The Procureur-Général. "Were you in the national guard?"—Witness. "I was before the troubles: but I was excluded as a protestant."

Thirteenth witness. "Being asked, whether no assistance was offered the dying man, replied, 'The women danced a farandole round him, but nobody gave him any succour.' "

The President. "Prisoner, there are three persons who distinctly recognize you."

Prisoner. "*If they were at Nismes they dare not say this.*"—There was a general burst of indignation from the audience. The trial took place at Riom, in the department of Puy de Dome.

Marie Theron. "I was awoke by the drums, and saw a patrole of national guards, among whom was the prisoner. They knocked at my door, and demanded my father and my husband. A catholic neighbour observed them from the window, and the prisoner exclaimed, 'Retire, or I will blow out your brains.' "

Anne Sauze. "About midnight, Servant, the

prisoner, fired a musket at me, and wounded me in the head and the breast. He entered my house, with several others, to search for my husband; and not finding him, they robbed the house."

Saussine. "One of the assassins told me, that he was called to join by Trestaillons, who furnished him with a carbine and twenty-two cartridges."

Anne Formentin. "The prisoner met me, and said, 'I want to go into your house; where is the villain your husband?' He is out, I replied, and has taken the key. 'Let us go some where that I may speak to you.' We went to a distance. 'Your husband owes me eighteen francs,' said he. 'Well if he does, he will pay you.' 'Yes, whether he does or not, I will have them,' and presenting a pistol, he added, 'your head depends on it.' I demanded time, and sold my silver hook for three crowns, of six francs each, but the prisoner would not have them without the twelve sous, lost on the coin."

The counsel for the prisoner, after some remarks on the facts, exclaimed, "All this is said to have occurred at Nismes. Nismes has magistrates of the highest rank. Where were they in the moment of disorder? Where were the prefect, the mayor, the judge of the peace, the commissaries of police?—The indictment does not inform us. Was there a legal armed force? Was there any sedition?—No answer. What extraordinary silence! What did the authorities in these circumstances? I have a right to say

to these magistrates, 'The générale sounds, bands assemble, they carry the arms you have put into their hands, they wear the uniform you have authorised them to wear, and you are responsible for the result; but you cannot speak.' The prisoner had no private quarrel to avenge, there was no jealousy between him and the deceased as workmen, for they were not of the same trade. The générale beat, he was a national guard: it was his duty to be at his post. Was he armed? the drum called him to arms. Was he in a party? it was a patrole of the guard. I repeat, then, that the authorities alone were able to prevent all that passed, and for crimes so great and so numerous, after the lapse of four years, ought such an obscure and miserable victim to be selected?"

The procureur-général justified the silence of the widow since 1815. "Her silence," said he, "was inevitable, for during that period the administration of the laws and of justice seemed to be annihilated."—"My accusation of the authorities is then supported by the procureur général," replied the counsel for the prisoner. "He has conceded that for *four* years it was not possible for a widow to prosecute the murderers of her husband."

The president in his address to the jury gave a paternal exhortation to the *protestant* witnesses. "Be assured," said he, "that the administration will always protect you, and that in the heart of the king, as well as in the constitution which he

has given the country, all Frenchmen are catholics. I am grieved, as well as the advocates, at the silence of the authorities at that epoch, and I can only account for this silence, and the absence of a procés verbal, by the fright which such crimes might have occasioned them."

Whatever was the cause of the inaction of the magistrates, it is certain that it was General La Garde alone who seriously and firmly attempted to check the progress of the desolation, and that the magistrates favoured the criminals whom he arrested, and justified the murders he endeavoured to prevent.

Among the slain was the Sieur Lafond, a bachelor, sixty-six years of age, perfectly retired in his habits, and estranged from all political affairs. This old man lived alone, on a ground floor, in a little garden on the Cours Neuf: he was a protestant, and had saved some money. His door was burst open, and the report of two muskets which were fired at him was heard by the whole neighbourhood, and collected a crowd. His dead body was brutally treated, and his house was plundered.

M. D'Arbaud Jouques, the prefect, has published a statement of this event, as false as it is improbable.

" This solitary old man," he says, " mounted by a ladder to a little window, fired a musket and a pistol on a patrole who passed on the other side of the Cours, and uttered, with the grossest abuse of the royalists, cries of *Vive l'Empereur!*

An irritated mob was collected: the people broke open the door, and killed Lafond in his apartment; but left the premises untouched."

The murderers could not have desired or have composed a better defence. The peaceable Lafond, wantonly attacked and killed, is converted by the prefect of the department into an assassin, a rebel, and an active and sturdy champion. His butchers are described as loyal and harmless citizens, acting in defence of their own lives, and the authority of the king. But nothing can surprise from the pen of a prefect, who has had the effrontery to declare to the world, that a protestant burnt alive was not a protestant, but a catholic.

The chief magistrate did not confine his good offices to written apologies. In the same night an officer was dispatched with a dozen men to save the remains of a house that was being pillaged by the populace. Maurin was arrested as he was coming out of the door loaded with booty; several others were made prisoners, and their comrades fled: but the fewness of the military was no sooner ascertained, than 'the people' rallied and attacked them with fixed bayonets. 'The soldiers were overpowered: the officer was already in the hands of the assailants, and shouts of 'Kill him, kill him!' announced his fate, when a reinforcement opportunely arrived. Maurin escaped, but was retaken and conducted with the other prisoners, under a strong escort, to the citadel. What was the

result? Maurin and several of his accomplices taken in the very act of plunder, and concerned in an attack on a royal officer acting in discharge of his duty, were set at liberty by the prefect, M. d'Arbaud Jonques, accompanied by a judge and the commissaries of police. At that moment the prisons were crowded with innocent and respectable protestants, who had been seized by Trestaillons, and confined without any warrant or any specific charge.

It was some hours past midnight: the firmness and activity of the general had disconcerted the conspirators, but the storm still raged, and he determined to arrest some of the chiefs of the insurrection.

Trestaillons was on the Cours Neuf with an immense crowd. Some officers of the disbanded army offered to execute the orders of the general. The terrible chief was surrounded with his agents: he had a sword by his side, two pistols in his girdle, and a carbine slung over his shoulder. To disguise their intentions, the officers as they approached, shouted '*Vive le Roi!*' They plunged into the midst of 'the people,' in an instant secured the hands and the weapons of the hero, and marched him off to the commandant. On his arrival he expressed his indignation that a man ennobled by so many loyal murders should be thus ill treated and disarmed, and threatened with signal vengeance the soldiers who had dared to arrest him. The fury of the populace rendered his detention in

the prisons of Nismes difficult and dangerous, and the general took the precaution to remove him immediately to Montpellier, in a post-carriage, and under a strong escort.

The day dawned, and the sun arose on the continuance of the disorders. It was eight o'clock, when a sanguinary horde broke into the house of Chabrier, a silk-weaver. He had lately returned to his home, on the assurance of delusive promises, and supposing that the miseries of Nismes were immediately to terminate. On the approach of the savage mob, he fled and took refuge with a neighbour. No asylum was sacred: the first of his pursuers who reached him plunged a bayonet in his thigh, and threw him over the staircase — others dragged him into a stable, and after giving him numerous stabs, they left him for dead. When his murderers were gone, he was removed on a hurdle to the hospital, and contrary to all probability he recovered, though with the certainty of being a cripple, and incapable of labour all his days. During these frightful scenes, the life of the general was several times endangered: several of the officers also displayed an intrepidity to be expected from those who had served in the most desperate campaigns, and which was necessary to awe ruffians so long accustomed to success. M. Durand mentions that M. Liebaber, chef d'escadron, who attacked one horde of bandits, was saved almost miraculously: two muskets pointed at his breast missed fire at the

same moment. A few days after, this officer, so zealous for the maintenance of public order, was put on half pay by the local authorities.

When the departure of Trestaillons was generally known, the people assembled before the hotel of General Lagarde, impudently demanding the liberation of their chief. The firmness of the general did not fail him; he immediately arrested several of the rebels, nor did he stop there; two days after, Lavondes, the most active and violent agent of the catholic faction and an officer of the national guard, was sent to prison. Trestaillons, however, eventually triumphed, and returned to Nismes in a grand procession: General Lagarde was soon after shot for his upright conduct, by one of the national guard.

The proclamation published by the prefect on this occasion, was distinguished by the same spirit with all those which had hitherto emanated from his hotel. The crimes that had been committed were scarcely mentioned. After this proclamation, the brigands demanded from the protestants the money due, for the trouble they had taken to preserve them from greater misfortunes. The slightest resistance would have been dangerous; seldom would they allow any diminution of the sum. Whatever they demanded, was given to avert more terrible sacrifices.

About this period, the anticipated visit of his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angoulême, was

publicly announced, and the circumstance was too important not to be improved. Every stratagem was employed by 'the friends of the altar and the throne,' to turn it to their advantage, by inflaming the zeal of the fanatics, and by associating the name of the Prince with the basest calumnies. Thus saith the Journal of the Gard.

"At length the wishes of the royalists of the
"Gard are about to be completely gratified.
"The arrival of His Royal Highness, Mon-
"seigneur Duc d'Angoulême within our walls
"is announced. The hero of France will re-
"ceive no where testimonies of love and de-
"votion for his sacred person, more lively and
"numerous than in this city, &c.

"The *royalists* of Nismes, instead of brilliant
"fêtes, have conceived the project of one more
"suited to the pious and beneficent character
"of the prince, and of celebrating his visit by
"acts of religion and benevolence.

"The following is the programme of this
"interesting fête.

"'Nismes, October 23. 1815.

"'The first thought of the royalists was to
"celebrate with fêtes the arrival of an adored
"prince, the model of every virtue. Praise-
"worthy motives have dispensed with expensive
"rejoicings, which might be felt by the public;
"but these restrictions do not limit the will
"of individuals; they are not prohibited from

" expressing their joy. The royalists have ne-
" vertheless thought they should act more in
" conformity with the dearest wish of His Royal
" Highness, by giving to their delight a *bene-*
" *volent* object; and the *twelve* undersigned com-
" missioners have been charged with the draw-
" ing up of the present programme, which has
" received the assent of the magistrates and
" the citizens.

" ' Many royalists, already the victims of
" the revolutionary disasters, have been again
" oppressed during the three months of the
" invasion of the usurper under an incalculable
" load of misfortunes; they are pining in
" wretchedness. Persons of respectability are
" invited to assist them, by paying into the
" hands of one of the commissioners, the sums
" they may be disposed to devote to this good
" work. These sums, which the commissioners
" will place every evening in the hands of M.
" Murjas, one of their number, shall be dis
" tributed during the stay of his Royal High-
" ness, to the families of *indigent royalists.* The
" unfortunate individuals relieved will never
" forget that the hero of the South was the
" impulsive cause of their happiness.

" ' A *religious* ceremony ought to signalize
" the same event. The commissioners have
" therefore invited the cures of Notre Dame,
" and Saint Castor, to celebrate with solemnity
" a grand mass; to be followed by the exaudiat
" and the benediction of the holy sacrament.

" His Royal Highness will be most humbly en-
" treated to be present at this ceremony. The
" royalists will ornament all their windows with
" white flags. The touching simplicity of this
" fête will not fail to gratify the descendant of
" Henry IV.; and all good citizens will be
" eager to unite in its celebration.

(Signed) " 'The Viscount Renis de Bernis,
" colonel; the Marquis de Calviére,
" colonel; Cazelle, conseiller; Four-
" nier, administrator of hospitals; Mur-
" jas, judge in the tribunal of com-
" merce; Boyer, advocate; Surville,
" adjutant of the staff of the 2d corps
" of H. R. H.; Rabanis, judge of the
" peace; the Viscount de Rochemaure,
" chef d'escadron; Troupenas, Galian,
" Carbonnel, merchants.

" 'The prefect of the Gard, having examined
" the plan and the object of the above asso-
" ciation, and being convinced that we cannot
" better express our sentiments towards the king,
" and his royal highness the Duke d'Angoulême,
" than by imploring the assistance of Heaven
" for our country and the family of our kings,
" and by pouring the streams of benevolence on
" those who have particularly suffered in the
" sacred cause, approves the proposed asso-
" ciation, &c.

(Signed) " 'Marquis d'Arbaud Jouques."

" 'The subscription was immediately filled;
" the prefect, the general, the mayor, the other

" authorities, and a crowd of citizens, hastened
" to contribute, to the utmost of their ability, to
" this beneficent work. It may be easily im-
" agined that the idea of such a fête was not
" suggested by those who lately cried, *Vive*
" *l'Enfer!* the place from which, indeed, they
" seemed to have recently issued, to second the
" sinister designs of the new Robespierre.' "

From the whole of this article, published in the official journal, as well as from the plan of the fête, it is impossible not to perceive that the protestants were entirely excluded all participation of the public rejoicing. The project was the act, not of the government or the city, but of the *royalists* of Nismes. A spurious benevolence was to be excited in behalf of persons said to have suffered before the 17th of July; while the widows and the orphans of multitudes, recently massacred in the streets of the city, and the families who had been for three months pursued with fire and sword, were to be totally neglected. The pretended sufferings of the persons to be relieved had been charged on the protestants, by the royalists who arranged the festival; and, false as was this charge, it was now solemnly assumed as the basis of a public and charitable provision. All the twelve commissioners were distinguished *catholics*. The religious part of the fête was to consist of a mass, and other ceremonies, in which it was impossible that the protestants, a third of the population, could unite; and, so far from the citizens being

invited, generally, to observe religious ceremonies accordant with their several professions, the protestants dared not assemble; their temples had long been closed, and there was no prospect of their being re-opened. The preparations for this festival did not originate with "the people," but with persons of the greatest influence and celebrity in the department. These were not the tumults and sallies of a mob, but the deliberate and systematic efforts of a faction, determined to vilify the protestants, and to excite the horror of the prince and the fury of the populace against those whom they represented as having violated the faith of treaties, as wishing to renew the crimes of Robespierre, and as having cried, "*Hell for ever!*"

It is not a little remarkable that, on the very day of the publication of these documents at Nismes, a violent tumult occurred in the Chamber of Deputies, because a catholic member thought it his duty to mention the reports that were in circulation of the sufferings of the protestants.

The chamber was occupied in the discussion of an act for investing the ministers with the power of arresting and imprisoning all persons suspected by the government.

M. Voyer d'Argenson opposed the passing of an act contrary to the charter and the criminal code; while the existing laws were sufficient to ensure public tranquillity, if executed with firmness and wisdom. "Without any proofs," said

the speaker, "or documents demonstrative of the insufficiency of these laws, or the necessity of the case, we are called upon to suspend the liberty of the subject. If we vote without examination, we shall only augment the alleged evils, by the creation of an arbitrary power. We ought undoubtedly to have evidence to assure us that the state of things demands a more vigorous legislation. It is not on isolated facts, or partial rumours, that you can form your opinion. On the one hand, we hear that seditious cries and excitements to revolt are general; on the other hand, my heart has been torn by statements of the massacre of the protestants of the South." — Here M. d'Argenson was so tumultuously interrupted, that it was impossible to proceed. A multitude of voices exclaimed, "That is false; order! order!" M. Bellart, procureur-général, and a great number of members, rose to speak. M. d'Argenson insisted on being heard. The president, M. Lainè, informed the orator that he could not permit him to speak on the fact, if the chamber persisted in calling him to order. A great number of deputies repeated the cry "*A l'ordre.*" "I wish," said Mr. d'Argenson, "to explain. I have not announced any facts; I have not brought any charges. On the contrary, I demand that the vague and contradictory statements should be proved. I do not believe all these reports; but it is to ascertain the truth, to know the real situation of the country, that an investigation

ought to be instituted. This is what I said." "Read the phrase," exclaimed several members. The president said the phrase had produced too bad an impression to be repeated; and that it was only necessary to know whether the chamber was satisfied with the explanation. A great number of voices, "Non, Non, A l'ordre! A l'ordre!" The call to order was then put, and carried by a considerable majority; but the degradation of an honourable deputy, who wished, though a catholic, to do justice to the protestants, was not yet complete. Some days after, on the reading of the *procès verbal* of the sitting, M. Castelbajac objected that it did not mention that a member had been called to order. The president observed, that it was only in the case of resistance on the part of the speaker that the rule required the record on the minutes. It was argued that *the fact*, if not the name of the deputy, might be inserted. The president replied that the fact, being painful, it were better that it should be omitted, and that, as it respected the individual who had incurred the displeasure of the chamber, it would increase his punishment. After other business had been disposed of, a member revived the question introduced by M. Castelbajac, and insisted on all that passed being recorded. His demand was supported by another deputy; and the motion was at length put to the vote, and lost. *

* M. le Marquis Voyer d'Argenson is the heir of one of the most illustrious families of France; and his ancestors, for several generations, filled the highest offices of the state. It

M. d'Argenson has been since fully avenged by the esteem and confidence of his country,

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is remarkable that the only senator who raised his voice in behalf of the slaughtered protestants, was the direct descendant of the Marquis d'Argenson, who was charged by Louis XIV. with the demolition of Port Royal des Champs.

At the commencement of the revolution, M. d'Argenson was studying at Strasbourg; but, after the invasion of France by the Germans, he became aide-de-camp to General La Fayette. On his marriage with the widow of Prince Victor de Broglie, mother of the Duke de Broglie, he devoted himself to the cultivation of his estates, and the education of his children. Napoleon wished to add to the splendour of his court, by having a d'Argenson as his chambellan; — the invitation was not accepted. In the hope of being useful to his country, M. d'Argenson consented to be named prefect of Antwerp; but as he was not made to be the agent of injustice, or the tool of despotism, he soon resigned.

As an enemy to imperial tyranny, M. d'Argenson was offered the prefecture of the Bouches du Rhone, after the first restoration, which he refused to accept, without the guarantee of a free constitution. On the second invasion of the allies, he joined in the protestation of M. Lanjuinais against the forcible dissolution of the senate.

M. d'Argenson was nominated deputy for the Bas Rhine to the new chamber, without his knowledge, and while he was in Poitou. It was not without difficulty that he arrived at his post, through the foreign garrisons that occupied France. From the protestants of Alsace, who are connected with those of Nismes by family and commercial relations, he first heard the horrid tale of the massacres of the south; and he seized the first opportunity of expressing at the tribune his honourable grief and indignation.

At that period, the parties that have since divided the chamber were not developed, and the members occupied the benches indiscriminately. The tumult burst at once from every part of the hall, and the confusion was universal: there was not one spot on which the eye of the speaker could find

and by the repeated denunciations of the massacres to which he alluded, by the ministers of Louis XVIII., in the same chamber, and at the same tribune, from which the vociferations of his colleagues compelled him to descend: but the immediate effect of this interruption on the protestants of the south, and on their persecutors, was terrible in the extreme. Both parties perceived, by the report of the debates, that the chamber was determined to stifle the first sound that might reveal the crimes that had been for months committed with impunity. The sufferers saw the clouds thicken and approach, and sat down in despair. The murderers beheld a long and bright perspective of guilt and protection, and rushed on to the gratification of their desires. The scene of the 12th of November, and the assassination of General Lagarde, may be justly charged on the deputies, who

support; but in every direction appeared furious looks, menacing arms, and violent gesticulations. Among the rest, M. Trinquelague, deputy of the Gard, was particularly conspicuous. Those who were not hostile, dared not express their sentiments; the courage of a hero was necessary to the performance of a simple duty.

On his return from the chamber, M. d'Argenson called on his friend, M. La Fayette, and described the treatment he had experienced. "You are not the object of compassion, but congratulation," said his venerable compatriot. "Your voice has been stifled, but it is the voice of truth; it will resound through France and Europe: your unfinished sentence will be as celebrated and as useful as the most brilliant speeches of Mirabeau."

silenced their colleagues, and deceived their constituents.

In the mean time the Duke d'Angoulême pursued his journey in the south, and, on the fifth of November, arrived at Nismes. He entered the city on horseback, and, amidst the greetings of the inhabitants, was conducted to the hotel of the prefecture. In the evening he appeared at the theatre; the next day he gave a general audience. As one of the public bodies, the consistory were admitted to his presence; but it was not without difficulty that they convened a meeting, nor without danger that three of their number, Messrs. Olivier Desmond, Juillerat Chasseur, and Rolland Lacoste, gained entrance through a private door, to avoid insults from the populace.

From his Royal Highness they received nothing but attention, respect, and encouragement. He invited them to his table, listened to the brief recital of the sufferings of their brethren; demanded an explanation of the horrible *patois* songs, which, in 1814, had introduced the persecution; expressed his astonishment at the long suspension of religious worship; repeated his assurance that the will of the king, and of his family, guaranteed the freedom of religious profession; desired that the temples might be re-opened on Thursday the 9th; and ordered General Lagarde to take every precaution to secure the public tranquillity. One of the deputies took the liberty to suggest, that a proclam-

ation was the only means of giving to the honourable intentions of his royal highness that publicity which circumstances required; but whether he thought such publicity unnecessary, after the decided manner in which he had expressed himself, or whether his powers were not sufficiently extensive, unhappily he declined to comply with this suggestion.

The flattering reception given to the few protestants who approached the person of the duke, disconcerted exceedingly the catholics; and their mortification was increased by the failure of a plan, on the success of which they had confidently calculated. It was nothing less than the liberation of Trestaillons and his accomplices, arrested on the 16th of October by General Lagarde. The friends of this avowed murderer were found among the highest ranks of society; and they selected as their organs the most powerful advocates. Some distinguished females, M. de Rochemaure, grand vicaire, and M. Bonhomme, curé, were entrusted with this mission; and these ministers of religion did not blush to solicit the orders of the prince for the immediate liberation of wretches, covered with the blood of their fellow-citizens. This fact alone proves, beyond all question, the real nature of the persecution. The same priests who celebrated mass, and pronounced the benediction of the sacrament, in the fête given in honour of his Royal Highness, became intercessors for the murderers of protestants: the persons who pro-

fessed an exclusive attachment to the king, requested another to exercise *more* than royal authority, and withdraw criminals from the action of the laws; and those who were associated in a pretended public charity, in behalf of imaginary sufferers, stood forward as the protectors and patrons of notorious robbers and assassins.

Had not passion completely perverted the judgment of the applicants, the result of their criminal demand might easily have been foreseen. "Leave to the tribunals," said the prince, in a tone of displeasure, "the prosecution of assassins and incendiaries." The decision of the tribunals was not for a moment doubtful: there was no danger to the prisoners either from witnesses, judges, or juries; their acquittal was certain; but their friends and patrons had views distinct from the comfort and safety of the guilty. Their interference was selfish and factious; it was the immediate re-appearance of these monsters on the scene that they desired; the agents were necessary to the success of their projects; and the failure of their application rendered the applicants more vindictive and furious than ever. They threatened to take ample vengeance after the departure of the duke; "the king wishes the temples to be opened," they exclaimed; "but the people of Nismes will not consent." The event justified their assertions.

His Royal Highness set out for Montpellier and Toulouse on the 7th, accompanied by Ge-

neral Lagarde. The catholics of Montpezat and St. Mamert, who assembled at Lunel to meet the prince, ill-treated the disarmed protestants of Calvisson to so great a degree, that they were obliged to arm themselves with spades, forks, and scythes, in their own defence. Though order was immediately restored by the arrival of some gendarmes, eight fathers of families were dragged to prison for the crime of self-defence; and two hundred troops of the line, and a brigade of gendarmes, were dispatched from Nismes, and quartered on the inhabitants. At Arguevives the arch raised by the protestants was destroyed by the catholics; and every insult was offered that was calculated to provoke a conflict.

In this state of turbulence, and especially in the absence of General Lagarde, the consistory of Nismes were not so unwise as to think of recommencing divine worship, suspended during several months; but, though they had been desired by the duke to open their temples on the 9th, they determined, for the present, to avoid all occasion of offence. There were not wanting, even among the authorities, persons who ascribed this prudence and moderation to the worst of motives. On Saturday, the 11th, General Lagarde returned to Nismes; and, early on Sunday morning, the 12th, he informed the consistory that he had promised the prince that the temples should be opened that day, and that, for that purpose, he had hastened his return.

The president of the consistory, and M. Juillerat Chasseur, represented the certain danger to which the worshippers and all the protestants would be liable; and proposed, if the will of the authorities were positive, that only the small temple should be opened, that the ringing of the bell should be omitted, and that the organ should be silent. These precautions were approved; and General Lagarde declared that he would answer with his head for the safety of the congregation. The protestants privately informed each other that worship was once more to be celebrated at ten o'clock; and they began to assemble silently and cautiously, and rather as though committing an offence than exercising a right. The larger temple stands in one of the most open and public parts of the town. The smaller temple is situated in one of the narrowest and most ancient streets. The service being held here, was less likely to attract attention, and the spot was less adapted for the movements of a tumultuous assembly.

It was agreed that M. Juillerat Chasseur should perform the service; though such was his conviction of danger, that he entreated his wife, and others of his flock to remain with their families. The temple being only opened as a matter of form, and in compliance with the orders of the Duke d'Angoulême, this worthy pastor wished to be the only victim. On his way to the house of prayer, he passed numerous groupes, who regarded him with ferocious looks.

"What!" cried some, "have they still the audacity to dare to pray to God?" "This is the moment," said others, "to give them the last blow." "Yes," added their companions, "and neither women nor children must be spared." One wretch, raising his voice above the rest, exclaimed, "Ah! they dare to come again, I will go and get my musket, and ten for my share." * Through these ominous sounds M. Juillerat pursued his course; but when he gained the temple, he found the concierge so terrified, as not to have courage to open the great door, and he was obliged to open it himself.

In spite of every precaution, as the worshippers arrived, they found persons in possession of the adjacent streets, and the steps of the church, who vowed that the worship should not be performed, and expressed their rage in the following exclamations:—"*A bas les protestans! sarre* (kill) *les protestans!*" "*Les brigands viennent à leur temple; mais nous leur en f—— s tant, qu'ils n'auront pas envie de revenir.*" "*Nous ne voulons pas qu'ils se servent de nos églises; qu'ils nous rendent nos eglises, qu'ils aillent au desert, dehors, dehors.*" The general attempted to calm and to disperse the groupes, placed sentinels at the points the most threatened, and the apparent success of his efforts induced him to retire. The church was nearly filled, and principally by the most respectable protestants; the poor being more liable to the attacks of the

* In *patois*, "Vau quéré moun fusil; dés de ma part!"

rabble. At ten o'clock, M. Juillerat Chasseur commenced the service; the congregation, assembled in such peculiar circumstances, appeared elevated in devotion above the tumult and danger of the scene, and for some time they were undisturbed. The calm was of short duration. On a sudden a violent noise interrupted the minister, and a number of persons entered the church, uttering the most dreadful cries, and profaning both the sanctuary and the royal authority, by mingling with the usual shouts of "*Vive le Roi*," — "*Mort, mort aux protestans! tuez, tuez!*" The gendarmes succeeded in excluding these fanatics, and in closing on them the doors. The noise now increased without, and the tumult redoubled. The populace endeavoured to break open the doors; the sound of their blows filled the temple; every moment they promised to be effectual, and the doors once open, there would be no obstacle to a general massacre. The house of God resounded with groans and shrieks; some pressed together like sheep in a storm, equally harmless, and equally helpless, and those who neither wept nor spoke, were pale and motionless. It was an awful spectacle. The voice of the pastors, who endeavoured to encourage and console their flock, was inaudible. They attempted in vain to sing the 42d Psalm.

Three quarters of an hour rolled heavily away. "I placed myself," says madame Juillerat, the excellent wife of the preacher, "at the

bottom of the pulpit with my daughter in my arms; my husband at length joined and sustained me: I remembered that it was the anniversary of my marriage. After six years of happiness, I said, I am about to die with my husband and my daughter; (the babe Paul whom I had left at home, was, I confess, almost forgotten.) We shall be slain at the altar of our God, the victims of a sacred duty, and heaven will open to receive us and our unhappy brethren. I blessed the Redeemer, and without cursing our murderers, I waited their approach."

M. Olivier, son of the pastor, and an officer in the royal troops of the line, attempted to leave the church, but the sentinels cried from the outside, that the danger was too great, and he was obliged to remain besieged with the rest of the worshippers. The gendarmes who were stationed at the temple, found themselves unable to resist the torrent, and prevent the most criminal excesses; the national guards refused to act, and declared, they "would not expose their lives for such villains," and the fanatical crowd took every advantage of the absence of the general, and of their increasing numbers. At length the sound of martial music was heard, and voices from without called to the beseiged, 'Open, open, and save yourselves.' The first impression was fear of treachery, but they soon learnt that a detachment returning from mass, was conducted in front of the temple to

favour the flight of the protestants. The door was opened, and many of the worshippers escaped among the ranks of the soldiers, who had driven the mob before them, but this street was again filled, as well as the other streets through which the fugitives were obliged to pass.

The catholics were furious and disappointed, for, according to their avowal, too much ardour had deranged their plan. It was intended to suffer the worship to terminate, and then to rush with arms on the unsuspecting protestants as they left the temple, and massacre them all. To give the greater excitement to popular fury, persons were also sent into the cathedral, during mass, to announce that the protestants were killing the catholics, while they were being pursued in the streets, assailed by showers of stones, thrown down, beaten, bruised, whipped and mangled, without regard either to helpless age or tender infancy. The venerable pastor, Olivier Desmond, between 70 and 80 years of age, was surrounded by murderers; they put their fists in his face, and cried "Kill the chief of brigands." His life was only preserved by the firmness of some officers, among whom was his own son. They made a bulwark round him with their bodies, and amidst their naked sabres conducted him to his home. M. Juillerat, who had engaged in the divine service, with his wife at his side, and his child in his arms, was pursued and assailed by stones. His mother received a blow on the head, and for a month her

life was in danger. M. Pourrat, eighty years of age, was thrown down and trodden under the horses' feet. The widow Defague, seventy years of age, and Mademoiselle Debiarge received several wounds; Jeanne Genevier was shamefully whipped; Jeannette Connibliere died of the bruises and wounds she received; the daughter of Bigonnette was dragged along the pavement, kicked, and so indecently and inhumanly treated, that she survived but a few days. Others received mortal or lasting injury, and the number of protestants more or less ill-treated amounted to between seventy and eighty.

A check was at length put to these excesses by the report of the murder of count Lagarde. Stimulated by virtuous indignation, the general, on receiving information of the tumult, mounted his horse, and entered one of the streets to disperse a crowd. A villain seized his bridle; another presented the muzzle of a pistol close to his body, and exclaimed, "Wretch, you make me retire?" He immediately fired, and perceiving that the general maintained his position on his horse, he added, "Ah! brigand, I have not killed you!" The murderer was Louis Boissin, a serjeant in the company of national guards, commanded by M. Vidal, son of the celebrated commissary-general of police. Boissin was known to every body, but no one endeavoured to arrest him, and he effected his escape without difficulty. As soon as the general found himself wounded, he gave orders to

the commander of the gendarmerie to protect the protestants, and set off in a gallop to his hotel: immediately on his arrival, he fainted. On recovering from the swoon, he prevented the surgeon from examining his wound, till he had written a letter to the government, that, in case of his death, it might be known from what quarter the blow had been aimed, and that none might dare to accuse the protestants of the crime from which he suffered.

The probable death of general Lagarde produced a consternation among the principal fanatics; their agents had gone too far, and they anticipated the re-action; they foresaw that public opinion would be enlightened by an act which it would be impossible to conceal or distort; that the government must adopt measures answerable to the nature and the publicity of the event; that future aggressions would be more difficult, and that some of their past crimes might receive a just visitation. To this consternation, the protestants were indebted for an apparent relaxation on the part of their enemies, and for some indications of returning calm; but the mass of the people were too ardent and too long accustomed to licentiousness to be restrained even by the murder of the representative of their king. In the evening, they again directed their steps to the temple, and with hatchets broke open the doors, which in the morning had sheltered the victims of their fury. The dismal noise of their strokes resounded

through the neighbourhood, and carried terror into the bosom of the protestant families who were sitting in their houses in desolation and in tears. The larger doors once demolished, those of the various offices and apartments in the interior, offered but a momentary impediment. The contents of the poor-box, and the clothes prepared for distribution, were stolen; the minister's robes were rent in pieces; the books were torn up or carried away; the pulpit was stripped of its furniture, and made the stage for a thousand indecencies; the closets were ransacked, and the room which contained the archives of the church and of the synods of the province for centuries, was entered; providentially these valuable records were not destroyed, but had it not been for the numerous military patroles that were on foot, the whole would have been the prey of conflagration, and the edifice itself a heap of ruins.

On this occasion, it is surely impossible to say, that *the protestants* were not the objects of persecution. This was the third attack on their places of worship, that they witnessed. The same temple had been entered, and the sacristy plundered some weeks before, and it was much longer since the white flag had been carried away from the great temple, the books destroyed, and all sorts of profanations committed in the pulpit. Nor were the outrages which marked this period confined to Nismes. It may be seen in the preceding chapters, that when the

attempt was made to re-commence public worship, the commotion was general. The temple of Milhaud, recently built by the protestants, was with difficulty preserved from the flames; those of Alais, St. Ambroix, Parignargues, &c. &c. were in similar danger of destruction.

The following days produced nothing calculated to satisfy or assure the sufferers. Some detachments of national guards, who arrived at Nismes on the 13th, joined in the rallying cry of the populace "*Sarre les grilleurs.*" The fanatics openly ascribed the murder of the general to his own self-devotion, and said that "it was the will of God." General Briche came express from Montpellier. He announced the re-organization of the national guard, which, after its refusal to act, could not with any decency be preserved. But his intentions were despised, and the women vowed, that if their husbands were disarmed, they would set fire to the town. The authorities feared that the late event would bring discredit on their administration, and perhaps occasion their dismissal; but they equally feared to risk their credit with their satellites, whose revelations they were anxious not to provoke, and whose services they might hereafter require. The prefect consequently issued the following proclamation:

"People of Nismes, All Frenchmen, whatever religion they profess, are the subjects and children of the king, the father of his country. The orders of the king are to protect all worship,

to secure to all Frenchmen, property, existence, and liberty of conscience. We have received his orders, sacred to all good Frenchmen. *We have executed them, we shall maintain them all to our latest breath.* A criminal, concealed in some popular assemblage, who, perhaps, thought themselves *only* tumultuous, but who are absolutely rebels against the king, has endeavoured to assassinate his brave general, to whom this department owes so much esteem, affection, and gratitude.

" The judgment of this infamous assassin can alone save the country, and absolve the people; he was not arrested at the fatal moment, but you know him, you who surrounded him at the moment of his crime. In the name of the department, I promise a reward of *three thousand francs* to any person or persons of the military department, or to any inhabitant who shall give me information of his retreat, and bring him before me.

(Signed) Marquis d'ARBAUD JOUQUES."

That the marquis had received orders from the king to protect property, life, and liberty of conscience, might be true; but how could he have the audacity to assert that such orders he had executed? Hundreds of protestants had been murdered; thousands had lost their property; for months their temples had been closed, and when they attempted to re-open them, the worshippers were compelled to relin-

quish their devotions, deprived of their lives, and the officer who endeavoured to save them from massacre, was shot in the public street; and yet the prefect was not ashamed to proclaim, that he had executed the orders of the king! His declaration, that he would *maintain them to his last breath*, will remind the reader of his proclamation against the duke of Wellington, and of the oath of the national guard on the day of the bull-fight already mentioned. That guard swore to maintain order and the laws; but when required to protect the protestants in their worship, they replied, "We shall not expose ourselves for villains." That the prefect would execute the royal orders, as he *had hitherto* executed them, was not doubted; for in the next line, he spake of "One criminal, in some *popular assemblies*, who believed they were *only* tumultuous." How kind and generous this extenuation of the guilt of plunderers, persecutors and murderers! And again, "the judgment of *this* well-known criminal is necessary to absolve the people;" as though there had been no such monsters as Trestaillons, Quatretaillons, Truphémy, &c.

After this proclamation, it is not surprising that Boissin was safe. The three thousand francs might be safely offered for his apprehension, for it was perfectly understood, that he was not to be taken either by the fanatics or the agents of the authorities; the protestants dared not arrest him, and in fact he was not

made prisoner till the end of July, 1816, *eight months* after the commission of his crime.

An extraordinary courier had been dispatched to the duke d'Angoulême at Toulouse, and on the 15th he arrived at the prefecture of Nismes. His first act was to visit the suffering general, the victim of obedience and fidelity. From this faithful servant he might have obtained a knowledge of the whole truth; but the knowledge of truth is not in the destiny of princes. Every thing had been preconcerted. The physician, it appears, prohibited conversation for fear of irritating the patient's wound; the confessor also gave him to understand, that on the eve of appearing before God, he ought to exercise full forgiveness, and that he who pardons must not be an accuser.

The life of General Lagarde was indeed in danger, the ball had entered the breast, fractured the collar-bone, and lodged in the back of the neck; and it was not till after fifteen days, that an eminent surgeon from Montpellier could succeed in its extraction.

His Royal Highness, however, knew enough to testify immediately his dissatisfaction with the national guard, and to refuse to admit its officers to his presence; and two days after, (17th,) an order of the prefect was issued for its re-organization. In the preamble, the prefect offered a sort of apology to his party for the measure which he was at length obliged to

adopt, and indirectly threw the odium on the prince.

"The execution of the orders of the king," he says, "and the pacification of the town, are my first and most sacred duties, and are essential to the prosperity and existence of Nismes; the present acts of my administration ought the more readily to obtain the confidence and obedience of the inhabitants, as they are proclaimed at the moment that the town enjoys the tutelary presence of His Royal Highness the duke d'Angoulême."

The illegal and dangerous composition of the existing national guard was completely acknowledged by this decree; and by the following articles, it appeared how long the grossest violations of the laws had been permitted.

"The provisions of our decree of the 9th of this month against persons wearing uniforms, epaulettes, arms and decorations, to which they have no right, are renewed, and shall be rigorously executed.

"It is expressly prohibited to add any ornament, or any colour to the royal French cockade, which ought to be worn plain and white, as it is worn by His Majesty and the Princes." From these prohibitions, it is evident that the murderers and plunderers had hitherto continued to wear the dress and decorations of the regular army, and to mix green with white in their cockades and scarfs.

The enemies of the protestants had expected

that His Royal Highness, at the expence of his reputation, would give his unqualified sanction to their intolerance; a' before his departure, they had expected the liberation of the agents of their cruelty, and they were therefore not a little enraged that his presence should reproach their favourite national guard, and authorize an apparent change in the conduct of the magistrates. Their humiliation was however neither deep nor lasting. The Journal of the Gard contains the account of the reception of the officers of the guard on the day after the publication of the decree. "Last Saturday, (18th), after the organization of the national guard, the officers were presented to His Royal Highness, and graciously received. Among other flattering things, H.R.H. said he was happy to see them; that he knew all the love and devotion of the inhabitants to his family; and concluded by saying, maintain always the royal authority."

It is difficult to comprehend how an organization could have been effected in twenty-four hours, which could efface all that had past in three months; but mystery was the order of the day, and on Sunday the 19th, one day after the decree of re-organization, and one week after the attack on the protestant temple, General Briche published the following address.

"Brave national guards, the Prince is reconciled to you, because he could not think that you were changed. It was not difficult for me

and the prefect, to persuade H.R.H. that some *concealed* agitators had hired evil-disposed persons to excite them to the excesses they have committed the three past months. You have a good major; in the absence of your colonel, the re-organization will be continued. Guided by him, you will for the future repulse from your bosom, persons who can only involve you in dishonour. Your prosperity will revive with your tranquillity and your obedience to the laws and the orders of His Majesty, *Vive le Roi!*"

The protestants remained patient spectators of the measures adopted by the government; confiding in the honour of the Prince, they made no appeal to his passions, but yielding to the menaces of the people, the consistory abstained even from a personal interview.

On the 17th, His Royal Highness sent for the President and an elder, and assured them that he had returned to execute the wishes of the king, relative to the opening of the temples. The members of the consistory replied,

1st. That the causes which had hitherto operated, still existed in all their force, and that the performance of divine worship, so ardently desired, would be attended with the greatest danger.

2d. That if his presence, which had not prevented the ill-treatment of their brethren, were to cause a momentary submission to the laws, greater calamities would assail them after his departure.

3d. That as directors of the church, it was not their duty to precipitate their brethren into danger by prematurely appealing, the second time, to their piety and courage.

4. That if prudence condemned them, for some time longer, to the privation of public worship, they would submit with resignation, from a desire to contribute by every possible means to the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

This prudence, on the part of the persecuted, frustrated the most atrocious projects. The people openly demanded the restitution of the temples, which before the revolution had been occupied by the catholics. This restitution, it will soon be seen had been promised, and had the protestants entered the church, they would have been attacked as appropriating property to which they had no right. The persecutors were not indeed satisfied with a moderation which gave a darker shade to their late excesses, and which deprived them of the pretext for future aggressions. The attempt on the life of the military commandant was a fatal blunder; this fact could not be concealed as the slaughter of the protestants had been, and it became necessary, that not only France, but Europe, should read the following ordonnance:—

"Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, &c.

"An atrocious crime has stained our city of Nismes: in contempt of the constitutional

charter, which recognises the catholic religion, as *the religion of the state*, but secures to every other protection and liberty, seditious assemblages have dared to oppose the opening of the protestant temple. Our military commandant, in endeavouring to disperse them by persuasion, before recurring to force, has been assassinated, and his assassin has sought an asylum from the pursuit of justice. If such a crime were to remain unpunished, all public order and government would be at an end, and our ministers would be guilty of not putting the laws in execution.

On these grounds, we have ordained and do ordain as follows: —

Art. I. Our procureur-général, and our procureur ordinaire, shall institute proceedings without delay against the assassination committed on General Lagarde, and against the authors, abettors, and accomplices, of the tumult which took place on the 12th of this month.

Art. II. A sufficient number of troops shall be sent to Nismes, there to remain at the expence of the inhabitants, till the assassin and his accomplices shall have been delivered up to the tribunals.

Art. III. Those inhabitants who are not entitled to form part of the national guard, shall be disarmed.

Given at Paris, in the Chateau of the Tuilleries, November 21st, of the year 1815, and of our reign the twentieth.

(Signed) LOUIS.

This ordonnance was by no means what the circumstances required: it threw a veil over the crimes of three months, and subjected the suffering protestants to new oppressions, from the presence and maintenance of more troops; but its effect on the fanatics of Nismes may be inferred from that which it produced on their deputies. These four gentlemen pretended that the king had been misled by his ministers, threatened to denounce them in the chamber of deputies, and published, in the Quotidienne, the following letter:

"*To the Editor.*

"Sir,

"Very inaccurate accounts of the events of the 12th at Nismes have been inserted in several journals; rumours still more false are in circulation here and in other countries. They are calculated to throw on the mass of the population of a town most devoted to the king, the blame of a serious fault, committed by *a few women of the lower orders**, and which all the inhabitants, without exception, far from participating, loudly condemn. It is our duty to justify our fellow-citizens from a calumny so unmerited, by the impartial recital of these unhappy events, and the simple exposition of their

* A few women rendered it necessary for the military commandant to call out the troops, and expose his own life!!! General Lagarde estimated the persons assembled at *six thousand*.

causes. We entreat you," &c. &c. — After giving a false account of what occurred at Calvisson, they state, "On the following Sunday, (12th) mutual provocations passed between women of the lower orders of the reformed religion, who were going to their temple, many of them carrying branches of laurel, and catholic women of the same class. The catholics were also proceeding to the temple, which is an ancient catholic church*: they were joined by other women and children. The congregation was insulted, and the worship interrupted. Count Lagarde instantly ordered out troops to put a stop to this disorder: he proceeded himself to the scene, without delay; and he commanded the first groupes he met to disperse. One man alone was in the midst of a crowd of women. He refused to obey the general, who, to compel him, struck him with the flat side of his sabre; and instantly this wretch discharged his pistol, and desperately wounded the general. The assassin escaped, because there was no person on the spot capable of arresting him. The women remained motionless with astonishment and fear. The shot which struck the virtuous and distinguished general spread grief and con-

* The mention of the old catholic church, proves that these deputies were aware that unconstitutional projects of reclaiming the temples had been held out to the populace; projects subversive of the charter, and calculated to raise innumerable enemies against the Bourbons.

sternation through the city: the passions were instantly appeased, and the disorder ceased. *

"One man alone has committed this crime; the whole city curses him. †. He has neither found protection nor support: he will always be repulsed with indignation by a people, who, for twenty-five years, have been faithful to *their God* and their king.

"The deputies of the Gard.

"Count Réné de Bernis

"Count Charles de Vogue.

"Baron Jules de Calvieres.

"M. Trinquelague."

From this letter, a complete tissue of absurdity and falsehood, it appears probable that the reports respecting the deputies of the Gard were not without foundation, and that they were not unacquainted with the manœuvres by which the truth was concealed, the victims of persecution were calumniated, their cries stifled, and crimes, the most clearly substantiated, left unnoticed by any tribunal. Who ought to have enlightened opinion, and have made the government acquainted with the cause and the extent of these evils?—The deputies. Who ought to

* The passions, so far from being appeased, were excited to such a degree, that in the evening the populace returned to the attack, broke open the temple with axes, and destroyed all they could find.

† A whole city curses a criminal; and yet he escapes, and for months is secure and unpunished!

have solicited and promoted the punishment of the guilty?—The deputies. Who ought to have been the first and the most active in endeavouring to restore to peaceable citizens the enjoyment of those sacred and religious rights, of which they had been deprived by the most cruel persecution?—The deputies. The deputies did not thus discharge their duty; the massacre of the protestants had secured their election; and they were not ungrateful to their constituents. Protected by such apologists in the senate, where alone their crimes could be fully exposed, it was not likely that the persecutors should be restrained, or the evils of their conduct repaired. The national guard was reduced, but its vicious elements still existed; the dissolved companies retained their arms, and were dismissed with a general certificate, "that their excess of zeal for the royal cause had produced some disorders, from which the enemies of legitimacy had suffered." The regiment of Marie Therése arrived from Toulouse on the 26th, and the Duke d'Angoulême left Nismes the following day. The troops of the line were highly indignant at the misery and desolation in which they found the town; and to their presence, more than to any moral consideration, the protestants were indebted for any partial alleviation of the calamities they had been so long accustomed to endure.

Every artifice, and every pretext that could be applied to the injury of the protestants, was

eagerly adopted. The royal ordonnance produced no beneficial results; but where no real occasion existed, the greatest vigour was employed. While the greatest care was taken that there should not remain, even in concealment, a single picture, seal, or button, bearing the resemblance or the insignia of the fallen emperor, bands of devastators openly infested the country, and committed all sorts of outrages, with confidence of impunity. On the 30th of November the prefect issued his letter of instructions to the magistrates: "Your cares," said he, "must not be limited to the destruction of busts, portraits, inscriptions, &c.; but if you learn that there exist coats of arms, stamps, or seals in private houses, after using persuasion, employ your authority for their destruction." The object might be both proper and *dignified*: but those who have traced the spirit of the departmental administration can be at no loss to calculate on the effect of such a communication. It presumed that there was a party eager to adopt the ensigns of revolt; it implied that the late events had not been produced by religious hatred; and it justified all the past and future excesses of the populace. The agents of government, selected among persons the most servile, and the most bitter against the protestants, availed themselves of this circumstance, as well as every other occasion convertible to the same purpose.

Under the imperial régime, the first Sunday in

December had been always consecrated to the glory of the French armies, and the coronation of Napoleon. Before the arrival of that day, the enemies of the protestants spread reports that it would be observed by fêtes and rejoicings in all the protestant communes. The day passed, as every other, in misery and gloom; and, tormented as the protestants were, it would have been strange, indeed, had it been otherwise. Into several of the mixed communes the catholics sent emissaries, for the special purpose of giving the appearance of agitation to the pretended Bonapartists, and criminating the protestants. In the village of Uchaux they succeeded in producing a quarrel; and, as the consequence, thirty horse chasseurs, about fifty infantry, and some gendarmes, were sent from Nismes, and lodged and maintained at the expence of the protestant inhabitants. At the same period royal troops were sent into all the communes of La Vaunage, under pretence of disaffection and revolt, but with the sole view of exciting opposition to the existing government, among a peaceable and submissive population.

On the 6th of December a detachment of armed men attacked the farm of M. Peyron, of Broussan, whose life had already been endangered, and whose fortune had been seriously diminished. His three sons watched over the place of his concealment. The assailants demanded the delivery of the parent, or the blood

of his children. Unmoved by the threats of murderers, and attentive only to the dictates of filial duty and affection, the three sons refused to surrender to torture and death their aged and respectable father. They were overwhelmed by numbers; one of them, stabbed with a bayonet, was left as dead; and the house and the farm were entirely ransacked and plundered.

The farms of M. Pestrau, of the village of Caissargue, was robbed of between seven and eight thousand francs. Three brothers, of a very advanced age, occupying a country house, of which they were joint proprietors, were attacked by armed brigands, who, after robbing and ill-treating them, seized them as prisoners, and carried them before the *procureur du roi* at Nismes, on pretence of their having uttered seditious cries. That magistrate immediately declared their innocence, and expressed his indignation against their base and malicious accusers; but, unwilling to abandon their prey, they dragged them before the prefect, who ordered them to be conducted to prison, "as a measure of safety." The order was executed with triumphant shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*"

The circumstances of the times hastened the death of M. Ricourt, one of the pastors of the church of Uzes. Obliged to flee, first his house in the town, and afterwards that in the country, plundered of his property, driven from his church, his flock scattered and impoverished, he sunk under the distress he was obliged to wit-

ness or endure, and added another to the victims of a remorseless and insatiable persecution.

The prisons of Uzes and of Nismes were crowded with prisoners. Of upwards of a thousand persons arrested, without any warrant or order, several hundreds remained in the prisons of Nismes.* Every day the fanatics sent emissaries to the dungeons, to endeavour to obtain, by promises or threats, abjurations of faith, and conversions to the apostolic, catholic, and Roman religion. The families of the imprisoned protestants were incessantly insulted and tormented with similar importunities. The pastors were either absent, or unable to strengthen the sufferers by their counsel and their prayers; the public ordinances of their religion had been long denied; fraternal visits were difficult, and often impossible; charitable relief could not be administered; and unfortunate individuals, who had neither work nor bread, were urged and invited to embrace a religion, rendered hateful by their own persecution, and the imprisonment and murder of their dearest relatives. That,

* "In the month of September, I saw in the prison of the palais, or in the citadel, more than *six hundred* protestants, all detained without a warrant, or the order of any public authority whatever. Several hundreds remained for months. They remained six months without being able to procure a trial, liberation, or even the regular registration of their imprisonment.

"Du Gouvernement Occulte, par M. Madier de Montjau, Conseiller à la Cour Royale de Nismes, et Juge."

in such circumstances, some should profess a change they felt not, is scarcely surprising, when it is remembered what multitudes, under the dragonades of Louis XIV., were received into the bosom of the catholic church as sound converts, who were afterwards condemned and murdered as heretics relapsed. But, to the honour of the persecuted, and to the glory of God, who strengthens the infirmity of his creatures in the hour of trial, the protestants had hitherto generally preferred insult, outrage, spoliation, imprisonment, and death, to all the allurements connected with the adoption, even feigned, of a religion which their consciences disavowed.

The following letter, addressed to M. Juillerat Chasseur, one of the pastors of Nismes, under a false impression of the intention of government to indemnify the sufferers, will describe the excessive misery to which multitudes were reduced: —

"M. le Pasteur,

"Informed that you wish to be acquainted with the calamities experienced by the members of your communion, my unhappy condition compels me to apprize you, that the spoliations I have endured have not been confined to the entire destruction of my shop and all it contained, but have extended to the plunder of all the furniture and property in my apartments in the Ancien Petit Cours, opposite the Café de Sully.

A husband and the father of a family, obliged also to support my father and mother, arrested by Trestaillons, thrown into the prisons of the palace, where I have languished more than *five* months, and unable to exercise my calling as hair-dresser, my family, since my detention, has been reduced to the utmost misery and want. If you can include me in the list of those persons to whom the government will allow assistance or indemnity for their losses, I shall be exceedingly grateful, and have the honour to remain,

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

"FRANÇOIS CAMBON."

Placed between the pressure of power and of poverty, exposed, himself to the vengeance of the tribunals, and his family to the miseries of starvation, the writer of this letter sacrificed principle to interest, and, as the means of escaping the galleys, entered the pale of the catholic church.

The system of forced conversions was making, at this period, regular and fearful progress. The publicity given to the fact by the journals, justifies all that has been said in these pages of the character of the persecution, and destroys all doubt of the object of the persecutors. The Paris Journal des Debats published the following article from the Journal Officiel du Gard:—

"An interesting ceremony took place on the 26th ult. in the church of St. Paul, at Nismes. Two protestant families, forming together about

twenty persons, "made public abjuration between the hands of the curé of the parish, and returned to the bosom of the Romish church. Some families had already given an example of this in the parish of Baudille; and others, it is said, are preparing to follow." Paris journals of a later date continued to announce "many protestant families of the South embrace the catholic religion." An article, which appeared at the end of October, in the Journal Officiel du Gard, expressed in the very terms of the reign of Louis XIV., and announcing a circumstance bearing no relation whatever to the interests of the department, displayed most evidently the fanatical and persecuting spirit of the administration: —

"An English lady, of *the pretended reformed religion*, young and handsome, wife of M. Aurange, captain of the 2d foreign regiment, made *public abjuration of heresy*, Sept. 27th, in the parish of Notre Dame de Verdun. She afterwards received, according to the Roman catholic rites, the sacraments of penitence and of the eucharist."

Further evidence and information on this subject has been furnished by M. Juillerat Chasseur, in a letter inserted in the *Bibliothèque Historique*, in April 1818. M. Juillerat is now one of the pastors of the reformed church of Paris, but was pastor of the church at Nismes in 1815, and, except Mr. O'Desmond, who is eighty years of age, was the only pastor who remained

at his post during the scenes described in this work.

"I have seen," says he, "in the Spectateur, a piece entitled 'Démenti,' given to the editors of the *Bibliothèque Historique*, relative to the affairs of Nismes, by M. the prefect of the Gard. Though I was not absent from Nismes a single moment during our calamities in 1815, and did not quit that town till July 1816, after having insensibly collected some of the scattered wrecks of my afflicted church, so that, either by my own observation, or by the testimony of eye-witnesses, I was informed of almost every thing that occurred; I shall not enter on the detail of events, of which some have been mentioned in the *Bibliothèque Historique*; but I consider it a duty to declare, that what is there related, so far from being exaggerated, is far below the truth.

My surprise was of course great, and my affliction extreme, on reading in the *Démenti* of the prefect of the Gard the following words:—"The *Bibliothèque* contains calumnies as odious as extravagant. For example, it says, under the date of December last, "*All the principal families have fled, and the number of fugitives daily increases: the consistory is only composed of two pastors and two elders. I have seen the protestants more than once conducted in a troop, and by twenties, to mass, where they are baptized, as if they were Pagans or Jews.*"

I cannot verify the quotation, but it is clear that, by the month of December last is not in-

tended December 1817; and it appears to me impossible, that any man of sense and good faith can so mistake the meaning of the passage. The *Bibliothèque*, to the best of my recollection, contains only the letters of different persons, written in 1815.* Now, I declare that, at that period, the consistory was never composed of more than *two* pastors and *two* elders. One of these elders, M. Roux Amphoux, is since dead, in consequence of the horrible scenes which passed under his own eyes; the other is still at Nismes. The *two* pastors were M. Olivier Desmont, president, whose son was an officer in the royal volunteers, and myself. The other elders, to the number of *ten*, and the other pastors, amounting to *three*, were either obliged to flee, or prevented by terror from meeting us at the house of our president. Our temples having been shut from the 16th of July, we were forced to add to our number some *notables*, who had the courage to comply with our request, in order to deliberate on plans of addresses and complaints relative to our sufferings, which we dared not, however, execute. The wisest and the boldest men were then overwhelmed with distress and apprehension.

As for the account of the protestants re-baptised by the priests, it is equally correct. I have been often assured that the number amounted

* The article in question was taken from the Report of the Reverend C. Perrot.

to fifty or sixty. The Journal du Gard has sometimes boasted of these pretended conversions, which can only be ascribed to the combined influence of misery and terror. In times of true religious tranquillity, it is difficult to find an example of any such conversion. These baptisms were celebrated with great solemnity in the churches of the Recollets, and of St. Charles, and if I do not mistake, also in the church of the Capuchins. Volumes might be written on the dreadful scenes of which the Gard has been the theatre of late years. The piece attributed to the prefect has, I repeat, excited my astonishment and grief, as it may give an appearance of authenticity to the calumnies which have too long pursued the persecuted and the dead, and render dubious the perfidy and atrocity of oppressors and murderers. To conclude; this magistrate, to whom the protestants are indebted for the amelioration of their lot and the restoration of tranquillity, at the head of another department very distant from Gard at the period of these events, may have been deceived by persons interested in denying or distorting facts. Charity demands mercy and pardon even for the most wicked, but not at the expence of truth and innocence.

JUILLERAT CHASSEUR."

The murder, proscription, and conversion of the protestants of Nismes; the prohibition of their worship, and the banishment of their

pastors was at length followed by a formal and and authoritative ejectment from both their temples. It has been already intimated, that such a plan was in contemplation, and that, to justify the crimes of the populace, on the 12th of November, the deputies and the departmental authorities had stated that the troubles were occasioned by the possession of churches for the religious assemblies of protestants formerly consecrated to catholic worship, and that the restoration of these edifices to their antient use would be the means of establishing tranquillity. The time was now arrived for the accomplishment of the project.

A notice of which the following is a literal copy was *affiché* in Nismes on the 19th of December.

"The laws of the realm and the will of the king secure the free exercise of the protestant worship: I tell you this; I, your magistrate, your mayor, who have surely some claims on your confidence. The protestant temples will be opened on Thursday next, the 21st, and that day will prove to the king, to France, and to Europe, which accuses us, that the blind infatuation of *a few women and children*, is not the crime of the city of Nismes, which has been so often distinguished, and even recently, by its fidelity and devotion to the king.

Women! blinded by your zeal, and perhaps excited by your enemies, you will not once more ruin your city, and rejoice by your infatuation

the enemies of the royal cause. I am certain you will not, and it is therefore with pleasure I inform you, that conferences are opened and nearly terminated with the protestant consistory, the object of which is to restore by common consent, to the worship of the state, the churches which have been conceded to the protestant worship. Two temples will be constructed, and that very shortly, to supply the place of those so given back, and during this very short delay, the protestants will enjoy unmolested the places which they concede. The people of Nismes require only to know the will of the king, and to hear the voice of the royal authorities, to do their duty.

The Marquis DE VALLONQUES, Mayor."

Contemptible and wicked as was this proclamation, it contained two important concessions: the first, that the *foreign interference*, so much deprecated, had sounded a salutary warning in the minds and the consciences of the authorities; and the second, that by some means or other, Nismes had been the theatre of crimes and desolation. But to tell France and Europe that *a few women and children* had ruined Nismes, plundered hundreds of houses, massacred hundreds of citizens, dragged above a thousand innocent individuals to prison, driven thousands more into exile, and carried misery and death through a whole department, was to insult public opinion, and to act as though there were

neither virtue nor common sense in the world. What! Boissin was a child! Trestaillons and Truphémy, and Servan, and hundreds more, were women, blinded and infatuated! And then to issue an address to these women, '*excited by their enemies*,' to request them, not to '*ruin the town*,' and to promise them in return the expulsion of the protestants from their temples! Under such a magistracy, no crimes, no atrocities can surprise; the foulest actions must have been the ordinary operations of society.

The conferences which the mayor announced with so much *éclat*, were only meetings held under the mandate of a prefect, to whom the protestants rendered a forced obedience. Their snbmission was an irrefragable proof of the oppression to which they were devoted. The two pastors and an elder of the consistory were *invited* to the prefecture. M. d'Arbaud Jonques, the prefect, M. Vallonques, the mayor, and M. Surville, colonel of the celebrated national guard, waited their arrival, and after assuring them that the catholic people saw, with the greatest uneasiness, the ancient catholic churches in the possession of the protestants, they proposed to them to relinquish them to the catholics, on the understanding that two should be built for them, either at the expence of the government or the city.

To comprehend the iniquity of this proposition, it is necessary to know something of the history of the churches in question. At the

period of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the protestants possessed a temple under the guarantee of the laws. On the 23d of September, 1685, service was performed in it for the last time; it was then closed by the Marquis Montanégre, and the next day the dragoons opened their mission. The temple was not demolished, but was appropriated to the use of the sisters of the 'Doctrine Chrétienne,' and after the revolution it became the property of the commune. The inscription, on black marble, '*This is the house of God; this is the gate of heaven,*' placed over the door by the protestants, remained visible at the commencement of the revolution. After the loss of their temple, and its appropriation by the catholics in 1685, till 1793, the protestants were without any temple, and when allowed to meet for worship, they assembled in the rocks, *au desert*, which have been already described. It was not till some time after the suppression of monasteries, and the conversion of the estates of the church into national property, that one of their present temples, called the Great Convent, and formerly belonging to the Ursuline nuns, was purchased by a private individual, M. Vincent, and consecrated to the use of the protestants. One place of worship being incapable of accommodating the number of worshippers, and being disproportionate to the state of the population, a second was given them by the government in 1803. This second temple was at that time

national property, and had been, before the revolution, the church of the convent of the Dominicans.

Thus it is evident, that from neither of these temples had the protestants ejected the catholics; that both were slowly, legally, and honourably acquired; that one had been in the rightful occupation of a respectable individual during two and twenty years; that the other, neither equal in size nor value to that they had lost by the treacherous revocation of the edict of Nantes, had been appropriated to the protestant worship by the same imperial government which restored, beautified, and reconstructed a vast number of catholic churches in all parts of France; that for many years both had been quietly possessed without the slightest jealousy or dissatisfaction on the part of the catholics; that the same peaceable possession was guaranteed by the laws which rendered secure all national property, and by the express provisions of the charter given by Louis XVIII. and which he was solemnly sworn to maintain. It is further to be observed, that the great majority of the existing protestant temples had been formerly conventual churches, alienated, abandoned, and dilapidated, amidst the storms of the revolution; and that throughout France there are now thousands of these churches left in ruins or desecrated by the occupation and use of the catholics themselves. In Paris all the protestant places of worship were once of this descrip-

tion; there the gorgeous dome of the Val de Grace, under which were buried the hearts of the kings of France, may be seen covering a depot of government military stores, and the Sorbonne itself may be viewed in ruins.

In Nismes, the fish-market is held in the church of the Penitents; the church of Ursulines is a waggon-office, and the church of Sainte Marie a wine-store.

The proposition of the chief authorities of the Gard was, therefore, of the utmost importance, and pregnant with the greatest evils. It was an attack on the charter; an attempt to shake the moral tenure by which the protestants held their sanctuaries, and to subvert the legal system by which that tenure was established. The example was to be given in Nismes, the metropolis of protestantism; and the precedent, once established, it might be applied as opportunity and power should permit.

The members of the consistory of Nismes listened to the overture of the prefect with profound attention; and perceived at once all the difficulty of the situation in which they were placed. An absolute refusal to concede their temples would throw on the protestants the odium of a hostile and unconciliatory spirit, and serve as a pretext for the murder of their defenceless brethren. By their consent they would sacrifice justice and liberty, surrender the post which protected all the churches of France, and facilitate the march of an enemy, whose

hatred was only bounded by his power. They endeavoured to steer a middle course, and avoid, if possible, the greater dangers on either side; and they replied, "that they had always "been submissive to the laws, and that the king "and the magistrates would always find them "obedient to the government; that they would "meet the wishes of the authorities, provided "those wishes were expressed in writing; but "that they could not take the initiative in a "negociation for the surrender of their temples, "expose themselves to the censure of the great "majority of the protestant churches, which, "like that of Nismes, were in possession of edi-"fices formerly consecrated to catholic worship, "nor even appear to consider illegal or improper "that occupation which they had enjoyed dur-"ing twenty years." The prefect, afraid to push to any greater length his unjust interference, engaged to draw up a *procès verbal*, explanatory of the result of the interview; and the consistory, after their distinct and dignified avowal of constraint, made a concession, dictated by terror and force. * The places suitable for the erection of the promised temples were subsequently discussed. The site of the protestant temple, which had existed before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, was not approved by the

* "We consented," said one of the consistory to me, "as the traveller consents to be robbed on the highway— "with the knife at our throats."

authorities, lest it should prove the ground of new disputes, and present bitter recollections. The ancient catholic *cemetiére* was considered equally objectionable: the feet of heretics must not press the ashes of the faithful. In fact, there was no serious intention on the part of the persecutors to fulfil their promise. If their power should be established, they would be able to treat the protestants at discretion; and, if justice and liberty should re-assume their empire, the negotiation would be a dead letter. At the same time the immediate object was secured; the royal ordonnance for the resumption of the reformed worship might be ostensibly obeyed, but tranquillity would, in reality, be purchased by concession; the past conduct of the persecutors would be justified by the apparent reasonableness of their demands; the protestants would worship by sufferance, and live under the indignity of having submitted to the will of the catholics. Such a compromise ought to have been peremptorily forbidden by the government of the king. Of this public attack on the sanctity of the constitutional charter, it could not have been ignorant; but it neither censured the departmental authorities, enjoined the fulfilment of the conditions of the convention, nor revoked the shameful instrument. On the contrary, after some weeks, the following letter from the Duke d'Angoulême was published by the prefect of the Gard: —

"M. le Préfet,

"Understanding that the catholics of Nismes desire to have *their* churches, now occupied by the protestants, but that their intentions cannot be fulfilled without entering into an arrangement for the purchase of these churches, which would enable the protestants to build one; I promise, in case this arrangement should be made, to contribute the sum of fifteen thousand francs towards the purchase of the churches for the catholics. If, therefore, the protestants and catholics decide on this, I desire you to inform me, that I may remit the sum that I have promised.

"I hope that the individuals of your prefecture will see, in this proposal on my part, how much I wish, as far as depends on me, to do all that may contribute to maintain among them that perfect harmony which ought to exist among all the subjects of the king. Receive, M. le Préfet, the assurance of my esteem.

"Yours, affectionately,

"LOUIS ANTOINE."

It is to be regretted that a member of the Royal Family should have sanctioned so dangerous a measure, and, however pure his intentions might have been, that his name should have been associated with a proposition which ought never to have been made. The catholics had no right to desire the temples of the protestants;

they were forbidden fruit, and to covet them was to sin. They were fruit, too, which they could not enjoy. Had the catholics needed churches for a sacred use, the government could easily have accorded them, or his Royal Highness might have given them fifteen thousand francs towards the erection of a new edifice; but they had churches in abundance, and they only desired to deprive the protestants of temples for which they had no use themselves.

At length, after a lapse of *five* months, public worship was celebrated in the two temples, without any serious disturbance, though not with that entire tranquillity and security which the public journals affirmed. The mayor gave express orders that the bells should be rung; the national guard acted on the occasion with a vigour altogether unusual; the troops of the line, recently reinforced, considered their honour interested in the issue of the day; and even the leaders of the people felt that it was necessary to restrain their violence.

The worshippers, who timidly and modestly proceeded to the sanctuary, to adore the God of their fathers, and to pray for their persecutors and murderers, thought themselves happy in receiving *only* insults, threats, and expressions of hatred. The *Journal Officiel du Gard*, of the 23d December, explains the cause of this amelioration of their affairs:—"The knowledge of the negotiations which have taken place, under the direction of the prefect, for the re-

storation of the two churches, which, for some years, have been appropriated to the protestant worship, to the performance of the *religion of the state*, powerfully contributed to calm the spirit of the multitude."

On Sunday, the 24th, and on Christmas-day, in Nismes, and several other communes, the protestants worshipped without molestation; but in some places they were seriously alarmed, and shamefully interrupted. The events which occurred at Sommieres have been related. There the officers who protected the protestants were fired at by the populace; and a respectable member of the consistory, eighty years of age, was dragged to Nismes, on the charge of having cried "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The armed bands still infested many of the villages; and on the 22d a detachment of about fifty men attacked the house of M. Mourier, at St. Blancard. M. Mourier is wealthy; he had just returned from exile, where he had liberally assisted and relieved many of his fellow-fugitives. The catholics intended to murder him; but he was so fortunate as to escape. Three horses, and various other articles, were carried off by the banditti, to console themselves for their disappointment.

CHAP. XI.

EXERTIONS IN ENGLAND IN BEHALF OF THE PROTESTANTS. — LETTERS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND M. VAUBLANC. — MISSION OF THE REV. C. PERROT. — SUSPENSION OF MASSACRES. — TRESTAILLONS AND OTHERS PROTECTED. — MOTION OF M. TRINQUELAGUE IN THEIR FAVOUR. — REVOCATION OF THE ORDONNANCE OF NOV. 21ST, 1815. — PROCLAMATION AND CONDUCT OF THE PREFECT. — SPEECH OF SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY. — REMOVAL OF M. CAVALIER, PROCUREUR GENERAL. — PROTESTANTS PROSECUTED BY THE TRIBUNALS. — INIQUITOUS VERDICTS. — ACCOUNT OF THE JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS BY M. MADIER DE MONTJAU. — TRUPHEMY A WITNESS. — THE COUNSEL FOR THE PROTESTANTS ATTACKED IN COURT. — FRESH OUTRAGES — DEVASTATIONS — CONVERSIONS. — ARRIVAL OF TWO DEPUTIES. — SENTENCE AND EXECUTION OF PENARIER. — CONDEMNATION AND EXECUTION OF THREE PROTESTANTS AT NISMES, AND TWO AT ARPAILLARGUES. — MANY OTHERS CONDEMNED. — TRESTAILLONS LIBERATED — ENTERS NISMES IN TRIUMPH. — QUATRETAILLONS. — TRUPHEMY. — TRIAL OF BOISSIN, THE ASSASSIN OF GENERAL LAGARDE. — HIS ACQUITTAL. — LETTERS OF M. BERNARD, AND M. MADIER. — M. D'ARBAUD JOUQUES, PREFECT, DISMISSED. — STATE OF THE PROTESTANTS. — THE FORCED LOAN. — THE HOSPITALS. — ATTEMPT AT INSURRECTION IN FAVOUR OF THE LATE PREFECT. — M. DARGOUT APPOINTED PREFECT. — NEW EPOCH. — DISSOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD, AND ELECTIONS IN 1818. — ATTACKS RENEWED ON THE PROTESTANTS IN MARCH 1819. — THE PROTESTANTS ARM. — DANGER OF CIVIL WAR. — SPEECH OF THE KEEPER OF THE SEALS. — M. CAVALIER APPOINTED MAYOR. — ACQUITTAL AT ALAIS. — TRIALS OF TRUPHEMY AND

SERVANT. — EFFECT OF THE ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BERRY. — PETITION OF M. MADIER DE MONTJAU. — SPEECH OF M. ST. AULAIRE. — PETITION OF WIDOWS AND ORPHANS. — QUATRETAILLONS. — PERSECUTION OF M. MADIER. — THE ENEMIES OF THE PROTESTANTS RE-ENTER THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

It was at this period, that the '*foreign interference*' so loudly condemned by those friends of the altar and the throne, who for twenty-five years had been soliciting every court in Europe to enter France with fire and sword, began to have a decided influence on the affairs of the protestants. Dreadful as had been their calamities, neither the pastors nor the consistories of the South, had permitted themselves to apply for protection to the protestant countries of the continent, or especially to their ancient friends and brethren of the British Isles. For months they had endured spoliations and cruelties worthy of the times of Charles IX. and Louis XIV., before they received any intimation of the design which was formed in England to assist the churches of France. The interest excited by the sufferings of the French protestants in the breasts of Englishmen, was honourable to themselves, to their country, and to protestantism. It was natural that a people who, on the first restoration of the Bourbons, had displayed a zeal so righteous in favour of the enslaved Africans, should be forward to express their sympathy with those who had descended with themselves from the fathers of the glorious

reformation. But it was not before the middle of November that intelligence was received by the persecuted, that, at a meeting of some of the dissenting ministers of London, it had been resolved to assemble all the ministers of the three denominations of that city, and its environs, to deliberate on the affairs of the protestants of the Gard. Some weeks again elapsed before they were informed that the intended meeting had been held, and that a deputation had solicited the good offices of the British government with the French court, in favour of its suffering protestant subjects. *

* Extract from a Circular from the Committee of the Ministers of the Three Denominations in London, to their Brethren in the country.— Williams's Library, Red-cross Street, London, Nov. 28. 1815.

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" During the present month, we have been occupied in collecting intelligence, from numerous private sources, and in authenticating the details which have appeared in the journals and other periodical publications. The result is melancholy, indeed; since we have ascertained, with a precision too accurate for our wishes and hopes, that for a long period our protestant brethren have been exposed to merciless persecution by the agents of a despotic and cruel fanaticism.

With such facts before us, as protestant dissenters, and the descendants of men who distinguished themselves in those struggles which achieved the liberties of Britain, and diffused throughout Europe the most enlightened principles, we could not mistake in deciding, that it was our duty to give a distinct and public expression of our sentiments; to use our influence with the government of our own country, and

Numerous meetings of public bodies were the consequence of this example. The proceedings and discussions of the common council of the city of London, of the society for the protection of religious liberty, and the de-

to demonstrate to our distressed brethren in France, our sympathy and regard.

"Under this conviction an extraordinary general meeting of the ministers of the Three Denominations was convened on Tuesday, November 21st, at the Library, Red Cross-street. On this occasion nearly one hundred ministers assembled, and after long and solemn deliberation, they determined unanimously to adopt the Resolutions which are annexed, and to appoint a deputation, consisting of the Rev. Robert Aspland, the Rev. Mark Wilks, the Rev. W. Newman, D.D. and the Rev. Thomas Morgan, the librarian and secretary, to confer with his Majesty's government, and to request its good offices with the court of France for the liberty and protection of the reformed. The conference was held on Saturday, November 25th, and the strongest assurances were given by the Earl of Liverpool, of the deep regret experienced by the ministers of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, at the horrid scenes which have lately been witnessed in France, and of their disposition to use their utmost efforts for the support of the freedom of religious faith and worship. * * *

"We do not doubt that our prompt and decisive efforts will meet your approbation; and we hope, also, that the early, liberal, and firm conduct of the protestant dissenters will excite the efforts of others; arrest the progress of superstition and tyranny; alleviate the sufferings, and secure the liberties of a large portion of the human race, and preserve for future generations, the example of their principles and character.

"We remain your affectionate Brethren,

(Signed) "THOMAS MORGAN, Librarian and Secretary."

puties for the protection of the civil rights of dissenters, at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hull, Plymouth, Gosport, Sheerness, Newcastle, Berwick, Exeter, and elsewhere, were published in the journals, and circulated through Europe, and were instrumental in rousing public opinion, and carrying directly to the French throne, the sentiments of other nations on the events which had so long afflicted France.

"The protestants," said a memoir, sent from the scenes of persecution, "who received with astonishment these proofs of Christian love and charity, were touched with gratitude, and filled with tender and fraternal affection. They began to hope, that the God of their fathers had not abandoned the children of his servants, and ventured to receive as a pledge of merciful deliverance from the hostility of their fellow-subjects, the zeal of their brethren in a foreign land."

Alas! their persecutors made this spontaneous act of humanity and religion, the pretext for charging on the sufferers a treasonable correspondence with the party politicians of England. They were thus involved in new difficulties, watched, accused, oppressed, and reduced to the dreadful necessity either of falsifying, by their silence or denial, the accounts of their miseries which had excited commiseration, or of sustaining the charge of being factious men, plotting against the state. In this situation, appeared, to their dismay, a letter sent some time before

to England by the Duke of Wellington, stating, that 'much misinformation existed on the events of the South.' 'Such delight and exultation did this communication from his Excellency afford the persecutors, that, not satisfied with publishing it in their journals, accompanied with insulting remarks, they also printed it in hand-bills and placards, and distributed it in the communes, to raise the spirits of their agents, and to celebrate a triumph over their trembling victims.

"It is evident, by the following extract from the *English Courier*," said the Journal du Gard, "that there is no longer any doubt as to the true causes of the troubles of the South. 'An authentic report on the affairs of Nismes has been sent to the Duke of Wellington, and has been communicated to us. The details prove, that the true origin of the disorders which have afflicted the friends of tranquillity, is to be found in political opinions, and in the recollection of the excesses committed by the revolutionists and Bonapartists.'"

The letter of the Duke of Wellington was dictated by the very chiefs of the catholic faction; and though it has since been fully contradicted by the first statesmen of both countries, it produced, at the moment, an impression most unfavourable to the interests of the protestants. It was the more mischievous, as it appeared supported by the hostile sentiments of the government itself. The following note of the 17th of January was dispatched from the minis-

ter of the interior to all the prefects of departments.

"A circular, printed and dated London, has been addressed to the French protestant ministers. This production, under the *pretext* of the persecutions which it *supposes* committed against the latter, may spread alarm among them, and excite to emigration.

"I have before me the answers of the presidents of several consistories: they are all remarkable for the good spirit in which they are dictated, and the good sentiments they express; and I doubt not that those which have not reached me, repelled, with the same indignation, these dangerous insinuations. I beseech you, Sir, to send me a copy of all these answers; I shall lay them before the king. His Majesty will there see, with satisfaction, unequivocal testimonies of the confidence of the protestants in his paternal government, of their attachment to his person, and of their love for their country.

"The protestants may also reckon on the protection of the king, who sees only in his subjects, whatever their religion, subjects to whom he bears an equal affection.

(Signed) "Vaublanc." *

After the circulation of this letter, is it surprising that the protestants of England should only have received in the *public* correspondence

* This M. Vaublanc was one of the most servile and devoted of the Prefects of Napoleon.

of the presidents of consistories, statements in which the truth was suppressed, and the persecution and its crimes palliated or denied? Is it surprising that the local government should have continued to misrepresent its own conduct, and to throw all the blame of horrors, which could not be denied, on the sufferers themselves? It was impossible, however, to cover the light with a veil so dense, but some rays of illumination could escape: in spite of every obstacle, the truth made its way to the British shores, and taught the cruel and despotic that, though they may hope to escape detection, and may cover with calumny the victims of their oppression, they will ultimately be exposed, degraded, and contemned.

The ministers of the Three Denominations in London, anxious not to be misled, either by exaggerated complaints, or interested apologies, requested one of their brethren to visit the scenes of persecution, and examine with impartiality the nature and extent of the evils they were desirous to relieve. The Reverend Clement Perrot acceded to their request, and fulfilled their wishes with a zeal, a prudence and a devotedness, above all praise. The difficulties with which he had to contend, can only be appreciated by those who are acquainted with all the despotic apparatus of the French government, and who know something of its effect when put in motion under the reign of terror. His return furnished abundant and incontestible proof of

a shameful persecution; materials for an appeal to the British parliament; and a printed report, which was circulated through the continent, and first gave correct information to the inhabitants of France. *

' "Williams's Library, Red-cross Street, April 24. 1816

' At a Special Meeting of the Committee of the Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations, appointed by the General Body, summoned to receive the Report of the Rev. Clement Perrot, who, from his eminent qualifications, the respectability of his character, and his personal acquaintance with the most distinguished Protestants in the South of France, had been requested to repair to that country, for the purpose of examining on the spot their real situation;

The Rev. J. RIPPON, D.D. in the Chair,

' It was unanimously resolved —

* * *

' II. That the Rev. Clement Perrot, for the promptitude with which he complied with the request of this Committee, and undertook a long, fatiguing, and dangerous journey — for the diligence, the prudence, and the zeal with which he has executed the objects of his important mission — for the generous sacrifice of his time, his engagements, and his personal safety — for the display his conduct has afforded of those liberal and enlightened principles which have distinguished protestant dissenters among the benefactors of mankind — for the important services which he has rendered to the cause of the French Protestants in particular, and to the interests of truth, liberty, humanity, and religion in general; merits the warmest gratitude and esteem, and that he be requested to accept the most sincere and affectionate acknowledgements of this Committee.

" III. That from the verification of documents before possessed, (the truth of which was never questionable,) and especially from the testimony now produced by their re-

Foreign interference was eminently useful: the declarations of tolerance, and the professions

spectable friend, it is perfectly evident, that the persecutions so long and so disgracefully continued, have been instigated by bigotry and intolerance, and have been excited and directed by powerful leaders, against the protestants, as the depositaries of those religious and social principles, which must always render their possessors efficient and honourable in society; — that political opinions have only been the pretexts under which the odious projects of their enemies were concealed, as protestants were as prompt, and as sincere in their acceptance of the restored dynasty, as any class of Frenchmen whatever; — that the impious, rapacious, and barbarous conduct of their persecutors, has exceeded the representations which have been made by the committee, and has equalled in criminality that of the most guilty persecutors of ancient times; — that it is impossible to exculpate, at least from connivance, the local civil and military authorities; because the extent of the outrages — the length of their duration — the publicity of the crimes — the notoriety of the criminals — the uselessnes of complaints from the sufferers, and the vexations to which they have been exposed — the confidence with which the robbers and murderers have acted, and the impunity and protection they have experienced, are equally unknown, in any country, where the magistracy, however feeble, has been active and sincere. That it is equally evident, that from some cause, which this Committee do not intend to assign, the higher departments of the government have not taken a suitable interest in the dreadful calamities, which have been sustained by its faithful and honourable subjects — have not maintained equal security for the professors of the protestant and catholic religions; but have appeared to entertain the most lively jealousy of the unsolicited interference of benevolent persons in this country — have neglected to give to the protestants, and to Europe, any satisfaction, by demanding

of justice which it elicited from the government; as well as the more cautious march of the catholic persecutors, were direct and involuntary acknowledgments of the importance of that external influence which was so much censured or despised.

The stern voice of public opinion produced a reluctant suspension of massacre and pillage, but the murderers and plunderers were still unpunished, and even caressed and rewarded for their crimes.

Among the most notorious agents of mischief and disorder, were Souchon, Vamperre, and Terme. In 1814, (to say nothing of their former history) they were sent from Nismes, by Count Maubourg, the king's commissioner, for their injurious treatment of the protestants. * In 1815 they were at the head of three companies of the armed brigands who committed so many outrages. No sooner was M. Trinquelague appointed secretary to the minister of

an account of their conduct from the local or extraordinary authorities — and, finally, have left the victims of persecution at the mercy of prevotal courts, composed of their enemies, who have inflicted on protestants the most degrading and cruel punishment for alledged trifling crimes, and have *honourably* acquitted catholics, covered with blood, and guilty of numerous and horrid murders.

"By order of the Committee,

"T. MORGAN, Secretary and Librarian."

* *See* Page 117.

justice, than they set out for Paris, and after an absence of three weeks, returned openly patronised and rewarded by the government. By a royal ordonnance, inserted in the Moniteur, they were appointed *commissaires priseurs* (appraisers) at Montpellier, Bourdeaux and Nismes.

Trestaillons, who had been sent to Montpellier by General Lagarde, was conducted to Lyons in the month of January 1816. Some protestants who had fled from Nismes, unable to subdue their indignation at the sight of a monster, covered with the blood of their friends and relations, had the imprudence to express their hope that finally justice would prevail. "They will not dare to condemn me," said Trestaillons, "because I shall reveal;" and immediately the protestants who invoked the laws, were arrested and imprisoned for having *insulted* Trestaillons.

In the chamber of the deputies, their friends, ever attentive to their interests, endeavoured to hold over these wretches the ægis of the laws. In the committee on the law of amnesty, M. Trinquelague, the principal orator of the Gard, expressed himself with remarkable frankness. "The great criminals," said he, "have been included in the amnesty, and would it not be just to extend the law to those who, to render the lilies triumphant, amidst the effervescence of parties may have committed excesses almost inevitable?" "By that measure," it was observed, "you will be

deprived of the means of punishing the criminal Bonapartists." — "The criminal Bonapartists should be punished, I allow," replied M. Trinquelague, "but the faithful royalists!" — "Well, if any are guilty, they will be punished, but there will be compensation." — "There can scarcely be any compensation," resumed M. Trinquelague, "for the excess of the love of royalty has occasioned *other* excesses."

From the bureau, M. Trinquelague proceeded to the tribune, and the Moniteur of the 7th of January gives the following account of the discussion on the article of the law of amnesty relative to crimes against private persons.

"M. Trinquelague. This article is contrary to "the principle of the amnesty. That principle "is violated if crimes against private persons are "prosecuted, which originated in late events. "Disorders have occurred in the South, and in "the West; persons have given themselves up "to excesses. The sword of justice was arrested; will you make it fall on the culpable? "Shall the men who may have been misled by "their zeal for the royal cause ——' Several "voices. 'The assassins must be punished.' "M. Trinquelague proposed as an amendment, "the extension of the amnesty to private offences which followed the enterprise of the "usurper, or the re-action which succeeded.

"M. de Serre (now keeper of the seals) op-"posed the amendment. 'Shall we absolve for "such crimes?' he exclaimed: 'the cause in

"which they have been committed is nothing;
"murder and rapine ought to be punished;
"social prosperity requires it; and if, among
"those guilty of crimes, which nothing can
"excuse, are found men who have served the
"royal cause, this is a special reason for their
"punishment; they should be entirely detached
"from so fine a cause, and disavowed before all
"France.'

"The amendment of M. Trinquelague was
"loudly called for. M. Try spoke against the
"amendment, and said, 'the amnesty only com-
"prehended *political* crimes.'

"The minister of police rose. 'If,' said
"he, 'private offences committed, since the best
"of kings has constantly enjoined respect for
"the laws as the first of duties, were to be ex-
"cepted, the amnesty would lose its grand, dis-
"tinct, and useful character. To adopt the
"amendment in the sense proposed, would be
"to proclaim that there have been murderers and
"brigands in the royal cause; which you ought
"loudly to disavow, by rejecting the propo-
"sition that has been made.'"

The opposition made to the amendment of M. Trinquelague explains its nature, and proves that the object of that deputy, who was one of the most violent in calling to order M. d'Argenson, was to protect the royalist catholics, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of innocent and defenceless citizens.

If the deputies of the Gard had not, on this occasion, all the success they had anticipated, they were more happy in their *private* efforts to serve their constituents at Nismes. The Journal Officiel thus announced the result of their exertions: — " Our deputies, always occupied with the interests of the department, have powerfully contributed, by their constant solicitations, to obtain the revocation of the ordonnance of the 21st November. The Duke de Feltre has communicated to them the ordonnance of the 10th January; and informed them that the troops would no longer be at the charge of the inhabitants of Nismes. The deputies have thus another title to our esteem and gratitude."

The following is the ordonnance of the 10th January: — " Louis, by the grace of God, &c. We are informed that our ordonnance of the 21st November last has met with that respect and submission, in the city of Nismes, which we had a right to expect; that if the criminal whom justice claimed is not yet arrested, severe enquiries have been made; that they have been seconded by the national guard, and by the inhabitants; that every thing announces that the murderer of General Lagarde has neither asylum nor protectors in Nismes. On the other hand, the article of the constitutional charter, which, recognizing the catholic religion for the religion of the state, secures to other professions liberty and protection, has been faithfully executed.

The temple of the protestants is open; they enjoy all the security guaranteed by the law.

"After so striking a return to order, we do not wish to defer the revocation of the rigorous measures which necessity alone forced us to adopt. We therefore ordain as follows:—

"1. The troops quartered on the inhabitants of Nismes shall be withdrawn, without delay, and distributed in the barracks, and such other places of the department as our military commandant shall think proper.

"2. Our prefect shall testify to the inhabitants of Nismes, that we are satisfied with the zeal with which they have concurred in the maintenance of tranquillity, and the re-establishment of order in our said good city.

"Given the 10th of January, of the year of grace 1816, and of our reign the 21st.

"Signed, &c. &c. LOUIS."

The royal ordonnance of the 21st of November declared, "that if so atrocious a crime were to remain unpunished, all public security and government would be at an end;" and ordered troops to be quartered on the inhabitants till the assassin and his accomplices should be given up. Now, on the 10th of January not one "accomplice, author, or abettor," had been punished or arrested, though a reward of three thousand francs had been offered, immediately on the commission of the crime; the assassin still remained unmolested, at four leagues dis-

tance, and money had been collected for him, under the title of "an interesting character." The temples were opened, it is true; but this liberty was purchased by the forced concession of those very temples. The concession had been announced before public worship was attempted; and after its celebration, the security of the protestants was ascribed, in the Official Journal, to the restoration of the two edifices to the catholic religion, the religion of the state. Such, however, was the influence of the persecutors with the government, that the ministers of Louis XVIII. were induced to affix the signature of their master to a declaration "that the assassin had neither friends nor protectors in Nismes; and that the inhabitants had returned to principles of justice and order!"

The prefect of the Gard knew how to profit by a royal ordonnance, obtained by the constant solicitations of the faithful deputies of the department; and, as soon as it arrived at Nismes, he published the following proclamation:—

"At length, brave and loyal inhabitants, and national guards of Nismes, after so much solicitude for your happiness and your fame; I have the satisfaction to see a fine day dawn on that city, the population of which has given so many proofs of unalterable fidelity to legitimate monarchy, to the august house which reigned so long over our ancestors, and which, if our wishes are granted by the Supreme Arbiter of kings and

people, will reign eternally over our descendants.

"The king is satisfied with your conduct; he has amply crowned all my desires, and rewarded my efforts, by ordering me to inform you of his sovereign and paternal satisfaction. Thus a *few errors*, into which perfidious agitators, who took advantage even of your loyalty, have precipitated you, are effaced; thus, those calumnious reports which they have vainly tried to propagate in the bosom of our country, and even to the foot of our august monarch's throne, but which have been disseminated with too much success among *foreign nations*, now, indeed, undeceived as to our true sentiments, are annihilated.

"I conjure you, therefore, brave inhabitants and national guards of Nismes, continue to merit, by your fidelity to the king, by your obedience to the laws and his sacred orders, by your respect for the freedom of conscience and worship, the favour which his Majesty has granted, and the justification before Europe which his Majesty has condescended himself to proclaim, in his royal ordonnance of the 10th of this month. *Vive le Roi, vive à jamais notre grand, notre bon Roi!*"

This proclamation, couched nearly in the terms of that of September 7th *, demonstrates

* See page 282.

that, however circumstances had rendered indispensable some outward change, the source of the evil remained as strong and as mischievous as ever. The prefect pronounced the murders, robberies, extortions, obscenities, and crimes of six months to be only a *few errors*, into which the loyal had been precipitated by perfidious agitators, and declared that they were effaced; the prefect denounced the prayers of the sufferers as calumnies which they had in vain attempted to carry to the foot of the throne; the prefect held the persecutors justified to all Europe, by the royal ordonnance of Louis XVIII., from those falsehoods by which foreign nations had been deceived. The sentiments of the prefect were, of course and of necessity, participated by all the dependent functionaries of the department.

It was this same prefect that M. Juillerat Chasseur, one of the pastors of Nismes, with a courage inspired by religion, endeavoured to interest in favour of his imprisoned and persecuted flock. In a street conducting to the prefecture, several of the murderers were assembled; and on the approach of M. Juillerat they suspended their conversation, prepared their fire-arms, and one of them levelled his musket. Retreat and resistance were equally impossible; and the minister of mercy pursued his way: but he met death with a countenance so calm, and an air at once so resigned and intrepid, that the assassins were involuntarily awed into impo-

tence: they dropped their arms, and their victim lived. Under the impression of what he owed to a watchful and restraining Providence, M. Juillerat hastened to the hotel of the prefect, and supported his solicitations for others by the relation of the dangers from which he had miraculously escaped himself. The prefect was exceedingly amused; and, with the most self-complacent smiles, expressed his surprise that a protestant pastor of Nismes should feel the least *inquietude* at the mere joke of having a musket levelled at his breast. M. Juillerat acknowledged that he had forgotten at the moment all the proofs of *playfulness* given by his catholic fellow-citizens for some months past; and, dismissing any further consideration of his own insecurity, he referred to the object of his interview. "As for that," after relating the history of all his ancestors who had been members of the Academie Francaise, "as for that," said the prefect, "my personal and official dignity would be compromised were I to take cognizance of the brawls and quarrels of the lower classes. At Paris the women of the Halle knock off each other's *coiffures*, but the prefect never thinks it his duty to interfere."

The protestants of the Gard might well be astonished and afflicted at the continuance of such a magistrate in such a post, when a foreign senator was induced thus to express his feelings in the British senate:—"What was the conduct of the English government in conse-

quence of the outrages committed in the year 1780? The offenders were immediately prosecuted, and promptly visited with the just severity of the law: and even the first magistrate of the city of London was proceeded against for cowardice, in not having sufficiently exerted himself to bring the disturbances to an early termination. Had any thing like this occurred in France? Was it not notorious that even when the general sent to quell the rioters was shot, nothing had been done by the prefect of the department? The assassin was well known, but he had not been brought to justice. His name was Boissin, and he was a serjeant in the national guard. A reward was offered for his apprehension; but those among whom he resided pretended not to know him. He had thus been suffered to escape; and the magistrates, under whom he had been sheltered from justice, were not removed. The interference of the people of England, which had been censured, had been attended with the happiest effect; for to that the unfortunate protestants owed what they enjoyed of toleration, which, however, hardly deserved the name.*

* See speech of Sir Samuel Romilly, in reply to Lord Castlereagh, who *first* introduced the subject into the House of Commons, on the discussion of a motion relative to the Spanish patriots, February 27, 1816. Sir Samuel Romilly afterwards renewed the discussion; and he brought forward, on May 23, the following motion:—"That an humble Ad-"dress be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince

If the continuance of the persecuting authorities in their places were a fearful sign, the protest-

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" Regent, praying that he will be pleased to give directions " that there be laid before the House copies of all commu- " nications between His Majesty's Government and the " Government of France, relative to the Protestants in the " southern departments of France." In a speech, which occupied between two and three hours, Sir Samuel Romilly entered, with astonishing accuracy, into the whole history of the alleged persecutions. He described the state of the protestants, subsequently to the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and up to the period of the first restoration of the Bourbon family. He related the indignities and injuries to which they were exposed, and the alarms by which they were agitated, from that time till the departure of the king; and equally proved that, before that event, the protestants were peaceable and faithful subjects; and that, during the period between that event and the second restoration, they committed no violence, and indulged no revenge.

He then drew a touching picture of the persecutions of the protestants, from July 15. 1815, and proceeded to expose, with the strongest indignation, the conduct of the local authorities. He produced many of their proclamations, commented on their negligence, their deceit, and criminality, in suffering such outrages to be committed, and then to be unpunished; and proved, from official papers, that when some of the most dreadful massacres and outrages took place, there were in the city twenty-four companies of infantry and a regiment of cavalry. He called on the House to consider the present condition of the protestants, at the mercy of arbitrary and partial tribunals — insulted by the lowest rabble — stled, if they went into the streets, by the murderers of their wives, parents, and children — threatening them with their looks, and exulting in their successful villany — the wretch who shot General la Garde, and the monsters Trestaillons and Quatre Taillons, still screened from justice. He con-

ants had a still more alarming indication of what awaited them, when they found their enemies had

jured every member to peruse the report of the gentleman who had just returned from Nismes, which he saw the noble Lord (Castlereagh) had in his hand *; and concluded with reminding the House and the Government, that while the nation interfered as it had done, and continued to do, in the affairs of France, it would fall under a very great degree of blame if it should not ask protection for these unfortunate people.

The motion was opposed by Lord *Castlereagh*; but, after all, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, not professing to state that any correspondence had taken place with the French Government on the subject, produced in evidence only an *anonymous* letter, written by a person, as he stated, a traveller to the south. Even this statement was, however, more than corroborative of the facts detailed by Sir Samuel Romilly; for it acknowledged that sanguinary songs had been sung during the first restoration; that protestants had been deprived of offices and consideration; and that 300 had been murdered in Nismes, and 1000 in the department.

Mr. *Brougham* followed, in a most animated and eloquent strain, and retorted on him the result of that *interference* which had been charged on those who disapproved of the treaty, allowing the slave-trade to continue for five years.

Lord *Binning* defended the line of argument adopted by the Foreign Secretary. Mr. *W. Smith* thought it very remarkable that, after the long duration of these persecutions, and the deep interest which a large portion of the British nation had taken in the situation of the protestants, nothing was said of any existing correspondence between the respective governments; and that all that had been brought forward was a letter, *without any name*.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* closed the debate with a most able and energetic reply. He disclaimed the motives which had

* The Committee had presented copies of the Report of Mr. Perrot to the principal members of administration, previous to the debate

sufficient interest to obtain a royal ordonnance for the removal of almost their only legal friend, the

been charged on him, and reminded Lord Castlereagh that he himself first brought the subject into Parliament, and, on a discussion quite foreign, had unhandsomely reflected on those benevolent persons who had taken up the cause of suffering fellow-christians. He denied that the outrages were confined to the Gard, though that department alone contained between 3 and 400,000 inhabitants. He compared the conduct of the British Government, on the occasion of the riots of a few days in 1780 (to which the eight months' persecution in the south had been compared) to that of the French Government; and could not hold the latter free from censure. He thought the Duke of Wellington's letter unjustifiable. The Duke professed to speak from his own knowledge; but his assertions were not borne out by facts.

"Whatever imputations might be cast upon him," he said, "for the discharge of his duty, it was some consolation to the cause of humanity, that so obscure an individual as himself could bring into public discussion a topic of such an important nature; and that there was one place, at least, in Europe, where the oppressed could appeal, and where, so long as public justice lingered in the world, acts of atrocity could be stamped with infamy, and men, who were suffered to go unpunished, be visited with public detestation.

"One of the prefects had observed, that the charges against the fanatics of the south had been made in the face of Europe. He felt, therefore, that when the whole question was brought before Europe, the best results might with confidence be anticipated."

Previously to this discussion it devolved on the author of this volume to communicate with this illustrious descendant of a French refugee. Often, at midnight, and when exhausted by the labours of the senate and the bar, has he seen him examine, with the most scrupulous attention, the details of the subject he wished to advocate, reduce every

procureur-général of the *Cour Royale* of Nismes. During more than three weeks, M. Cavalier did not take off his judicial robe, neither day nor night. "It is covered with my *toge*," said he, to his noble friend, M. Madier de Montjau, "that I will present myself to the assassins, whom I every moment expect. I have written to the *government* that I expect death, and that I shall receive it without pain; because it is, perhaps, death alone that can absolve my ministry from the guilt of crimes which I am unable to prevent." M. Cavalier had, indeed, witnessed all the crimes that had been committed in the name of "the altar and the throne;" he had officially received memoirs and documents from the persecuted, which were necessary to the public prosecution of the criminals; he had refused, when solicited, to misrepresent the protestants in his communications with the minister of justice; he had held firmly to the laws, amidst the wildest anarchy; he had loudly expressed his intention of bringing before the tribunals the guilty, the moment there was the slightest appearance that justice had resumed her seat. Such a magistrate was dangerous: he was not assassinated, but he was displaced.

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representation below the fact, in order to avoid the possibility of exaggeration; and, in a question which others might suppose an affair of party, exercise, in private, all the conscientious assiduity of an enquirer after an essential truth.'

When the prisons were filled with protestants, arrested in their own houses by Trestaillons, and dragged to jail without any warrant, or record of their confinement, M. Cavalier applied to M. Vidal, commissary-general of police, to make arrangements for their liberation. M. Vidal refused his consent, and gave as his reasons, "that all those who left the prisons would certainly be murdered." M. Cavalier addressed the keeper of the seals, received his order for the liberation of those who were not detained by the prefect, and, accordingly, requested from the prefect the names of those imprisoned by his orders. The prefect, instead of a reply, visited the prison, accompanied by the mayor and the commissaries of police, and liberated Maurin and his accomplices, arrested on the 16th of October, in the act of plunder; and detained respectable protestants, whom M. Cavalier was anxious to deliver.* When M. Bernard replaced M. Cavalier, he received a long list of crimes, charged on persons whom his predecessor intended to prosecute. It led to no results.

No sooner was M. Cavalier removed than prosecutions were commenced against the protestants, and the tribunals became the servile and dreadful instruments of a cruel and feigned fanaticism.

The spirit of the local authorities was perfectly displayed in the publicity and importance

* Among these was M. Lombard, of Uzès, son of a protestant minister. He was confined *nine* months without warrant. He is now *juge* at Nismes!

they gave to every trifle by which they might throw odium on the sufferers, compared with their silence or their exculpatory language when the murders and robberies committed on the protestants were brought before the public.

In connection with the charge of a treasonable correspondence with foreigners, the following account of an insignificant affair was published, January 6th, in the Journal Officiel. "False and alarming rumours are circulating in the department; the people should no longer be kept in agitation; we should endeavour to consolidate the peace we enjoy. The rumours are similar to what follows. On the 3d of this month, the correctional tribunal tried Etienne Girard, a native of Toulouse, pretending to have returned from the prisons of England, and convicted of having said on the 7th of December to two soldiers, on the road from Beauvoisin to Vauvert, 'that the king had issued an ordonnance for butchering all the protestants in France; but that the English would soon arrive in the ports and avenge their death.' He was condemned to a year's imprisonment, a fine of 100 francs, and five years' inspection of the police. The sentence is to be printed and published in all the communes." It should be observed, that the soldiers in question were some of the plunderers who infested the country, and that at this period, witnesses daily swore to the most palpable falsehoods, under the protection of the courts.

In the Journal Officiel of the 10th of January, the assassination of M. Perrin at Alais, by a catholic, was basely charged on the protestants, and described as the result of a plot of many individuals. The prefect set out for Alais, and in a proclamation, declared, that "the crime appeared to have been committed by the enemies of the king and the country," and thus magnified an act of private malice into a vast political conspiracy. The same falsehood was propagated in the Journal of the 17th, which announced that on the 15th, the *Cour d'Assises*, had condemned to *death* Porcet, for having fired at a royalist, and occasioned him an illness, and loss of work for 20 days. "May this example," it added, "alarm those evil-disposed persons, who carry in their breasts the most wicked intentions, and have proved by the crime which they have committed at Alais, to what extent they are determined to push their audacity and fury.

An article in the Journal of the 20th was expressed as follows: "By the *jugement* of the 17th, Jacques Rouvière and his wife, of Vauvert, were condemned; Jacques to two months' imprisonment, and his wife to four months; to separate confinement, to all the costs, and 100 francs' fine to the plaintiffs, Granet and his wife, for having charged them with making lists of protestants who ought to be murdered. — On the 18th, Jean Bonnafet, of Sommieres, was acquitted of having uttered seditious cries; but it ap-

pearing that he had reported in places of public resort, that a gendarme had shewn him a letter, containing an order to the catholics to murder all the protestants; on consideration of the circumstances of extenuation, the tribunal condemned him to six days' imprisonment, a fine of 50 francs, and the costs, and the forfeiture, during five years, of the civic rights mentioned in article 42 of the penal code."

M. Bonnafet is a respectable protestant, eighty years of age; the perjured witnesses adduced against him contradicted each other, and in order to justify his shameful arrest, recourse was had to a false report of language held anterior to the affair for which he had been tried.

In the beginning of February, the proceedings of the tribunals was thus described in the same official journal: "Our magistrates are ever eager to empty the prisons, which our late troubles have *filled*, and to do justice to the detained. At every sitting of the tribunal, and in which they try principally those accused of seditious cries, some are acquitted, and others are sentenced to punishments more or less severe. The 7th of this month, several individuals were condemned to imprisonment proportionate to their political offences. These examples prove that justice is active, and restrains the seditious. Impunity had only emboldened them; but for some time past, seditious cries have not been so common." Another article, after stating that

the tribunal of *police correctionelle* employed the greatest activity in judging those arrested for political offences, added, "In the sitting of the 17th of February, there was particularly noticed, the case of a girl accused of seditious discourse. The *exaltation* of her opinions, had not only led her to hold conversation disrespectful to the royal family, but also to menace old men, and strike children. She was convicted of seditious discourse, and of having thrown a stone at the breast of a girl, which caused her to faint, and obliged her to employ a surgeon for several days: considering that she had already been confined in prison *six months*, she was condemned to six months' more imprisonment, a fine of 50 francs, the expenses of the proceedings, and at the expiration of her imprisonment, three years' *surveillance* of the *haute police*, under a bond of 200 francs."

It is impossible to imagine more revolting partiality, or more shameful injustice than was thus every day consummated under the sanction of the laws: perjury was treated as a virtue, while an honest witness exposed himself to instant death, for deposing to the truth, and even in the presence of the judge, was reminded of his fate.

Sayen, sixty years of age, an old inhabitant of Nismes, father of a large family, in easy circumstances, of irreproachable character, was sentenced, for a pretended robbery, to five years' imprisonment, and to the pillory. He petitioned the minister of justice; but in the meantime

suffered the most horrible part of his sentence; for an hour, his grey hairs were exhibited on the scaffold, amid the furious insults of the populace, who with difficulty permitted his degraded form to be conveyed back alive to his dungeon. When M. Trinquelague was no longer secretary of justice, he was liberated; and his three companions, who put themselves on their trial, were all acquitted. *

In the month of March, several catholics of Nismes, who had been arrested by the efforts of M. Cavalier, were brought to trial. They had invaded the commune of Senilhac, armed, and in uniform, pillaged the whole village, and levied arbitrary contributions. They were taken in the act of robbery, and the property they had plundered was found upon them. The Journal Officiel observed, "that as these ten individuals were all of Nismes, and had all marched under the banners of the Duke d'Angoulême, a great concourse of people was collected." The inference is direct: they were all acquitted. The next day, six protestants were put to the bar, charged with having taken part in a quarrel, in which a man, named Riche, had received a wound or a scratch in the hand: they were all condemned; — Sauze le Pur, and Deylau, sen. having 12 children, to be marked with hot irons, the pillory, and the galleys for life; Gourdoux to *ten* years' imprisonment, the

* See page 162.

pillory, and the hot iron; Sauze de Pinet, to the galleys for *seven* years, the hot iron, and the pillory; Deylau, jun., to the galleys for *five* years, the pillory, and the hot iron.

The manner in which these verdicts were obtained, has thus been described by the celebrated M. Madier de Montjau, judge of the *Cour Royale* of Nismes, and president of the *Cour d'Assises* of the Gard and the Vaucluse.

"My conscience tells me that I did not merit censure the day that I quitted the court rather than witness the crime of Truphémy. — In a hall of the palace of justice, opposite that in which I sat, unfortunate persons, persecuted by the faction, were being tried. Every deposition tending to their crimination, was applauded with cries of "*Vive le Roi!*' Three times the explosion of this atrocious joy, became so terrible, that it was necessary to send for reinforcements from the barracks, to increase tenfold the military posts, and two hundred soldiers were often unable to restrain the people. On a sudden, the shouts and cries of '*Vive le Roi!*' redoubled. A man arrives, caressed, applauded, borne in triumph: it is the horrible Truphémy; he approaches the tribunal; he comes to depose against the prisoners; he is admitted as a witness; he raises his hand to take the oath! Seized with horror at the sight, I rush from my seat, and enter the hall of council; my colleagues follow me; in vain they persuade me to resume my seat.

'No,' exclaimed I, 'I will not consent to see that wretch admitted to give evidence in a court of justice, in the city which he has filled with murders, in the palace, on the steps of which he has murdered the unfortunate Bourillon. * I should not more revolt from seeing him kill his victims, as of late, with his poniard, than from seeing him kill them by his depositions. He accuser! he a witness!! No! never will I consent to see this monster raise, in the presence of magistrates, to take a sacrilegious oath, his hand still reeking with blood!' These words were repeated out of doors; the witness trembled, the factious trembled; the factious, who guided the tongue of Truphémy, as they had directed his arm, who dictated calumny, after having taught him murder. These words penetrated the dungeons of the condemned, and inspired hope; they gave to a courageous advocate the determination to sustain the cause of the persecuted. He carried to the foot of the throne the prayer of misery and innocence. There he asked, if the evidence of a Truphémy was not enough to annul a sentence. The king accorded a free and full pardon," †

* M. Bourillon was killed by Truphémy on the esplanade, August 2d. the day appointed for the adoption of an address to the king. The magistrates, assembled in the *palais de justice*, heard the report of the muskets with which he was shot. — See page 233.

† To such an infamous perfection was this system of perjury and subornation carried, that twenty-six witnesses were found to sign and swear, that on the 3d of April, 1815,

If this testimony from a catholic judge can receive any addition, it will be found in the

General Gilly, with his own hand, and *before their eyes*, took down the white flag at Nismes; though it was demonstrated, that at the time the tri-coloured flag was raised, he was fifteen leagues from Nismes, and that he did not arrive there till *three days* after that event. Before tribunals thus garnished, innocence had not even a chance of protection. General Gilly was too prudent to appear, and was condemned to death on the charge of contumacy. When the General quitted Nismes, he thought either of passing into a foreign country, or of joining the army of the Loire, and it was long supposed that he had actually escaped. But it was impossible to gain any point, or find any security; his only hope was in concealment. The attempt was desperate; a friend found him an asylum in the cottage of a peasant, but that peasant was a protestant, and the General was a catholic. "The step," said his friend, "merits consideration." The General did not hesitate; the protestant was poor, and his own life might be sold at a great price; but he confided in his honour. He entered the cottage of a peasant, of the canton of Anduze. The name of Perrier deserves to be recorded: he lives by his daily labour, but he displayed virtues which would adorn a throne. The fugitive was welcomed; his name was not asked; it was a time of proscription; his host would know nothing of him; it was enough that he was unfortunate, and in danger. He was disguised, and he passed for the cousin of Perrier. The General is naturally amiable, and he made himself agreeable, sat by the fire, eat potatoes, and contented himself with miserable fare. For several months he preserved his retreat, 'though subject to frequent and eminent alarms. Often he heard the visitors of his host, boast of having concealed General Gilly, or of being acquainted with the place of his concealment. Patroles were continually searching for arms in the houses of the protestants; often in the night the

declaration of a catholic advocate in the *Cour Royale* of Nismes.

General was obliged to leave his mattrass, and, half-naked, hide himself in the fields. Perrier, to avoid these dangers and inconveniences, made an underground passage, by which his guest might pass to an out-house constructed on the premises. The wife of Perrier could not endure that one who had seen better days should live, as her family, on vegetables and bread, and she occasionally bought meat to regale the melancholy stranger. These purchases were so unusual, that they excited attention; in a time of terror, danger is every where; it was suspected that Perrier had some one concealed; nightly visits were more frequent. In this state of agony, he sometimes complained of the hardness of his lot. Perrier one day returned from market, in a meditative mood, and, after some enquiries from his anxious guest, he replied, "Why do you complain; you are fortunate, compared with the poor wretches whose heads were cried in the market: Bruguier, the pastor, at 2400 francs; Bresse, the mayor, at 2400 francs; and General Gilly at 10,000!"

"Is it possible?" "Aye, it is certain." Gilly concealed his emotion; a momentary suspicion passed his mind; he appeared to reflect. "Perrier," said he, "I am weary of life; you are poor, and want money; I know Gilly, and the place of his concealment; let us denounce him; I shall no doubt obtain my liberty, and you shall have the 10,000 francs." The old man stood speechless, and as if petrified. His son, a gigantic peasant, 27 years of age, who had served in the army, rose from his chair in which he had listened to the conversation, and, in a tone not to be described, said, "Sir, hitherto, we thought you unfortunate, but honest; we have respected your sorrow, and kept your secret; but since you are one of those wretched beings who would inform of a fellow-creature, and insure his death to save yourself, there is the door; and if you do not retire, I will

"I arrived at Nismes at a late period," says M. Lauze de Peret, "in May, 1816; at that epoch, though the government was employed in bringing the department under the empire of the laws, the same men continued in the public functions, and M. d'Arbaud Jouques remained prefect. The society called Royal, and its secret committee, maintained a power superior to the laws. It was not possible to procure the condemination of an assassin, of whose crime the evidence was incontestible, and for whom, in other times, there would have been no hope of escape. The invisible power by which Nismes was oppressed, was revealed to me in all its

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throw you out of the window. Gilly hesitated; the peasant insisted; the General wished to explain, but he was seized by the collar.—"Suppose I should be General Gilly," said the fugitive: the soldier paused. "And it is even so," he continued; "denounce me, and the 10,000 francs are yours." The soldier threw himself on his neck; the family were dissolved in tears; they kissed his hands, his clothes; protested they would never let him leave them, and that they would rather die than he should be arrested. In their kindness he was more secure than ever; but their cottage was more suspected; and he was at length obliged to seek another asylum. The family refused any indemnity for the expense he had occasioned them, and it was not till long after, that he decided them to accept an acknowledgment for the hospitality he had experienced. When the course of justice was more free, in 1820, General Gilly demanded to be tried; but there was nothing against him; and the Duke d'Angoulême conveyed to Madame Gilly the permission of the king, for the return of her husband to the bosom of his country.

horror. The Truphémys, &c. &c. appeared in public, wearing immense moustaches, and their cockades embroidered with green, which they have not yet abandoned (1818). Like the brigands of Calabria, they had at their waist a poniard and two pistols. Their appearance diffused an air of melancholy mixed with indignation. Even amidst the bustle of the day, there was the silence of fear, and the night was disturbed by atrocious songs, or African vociferations, like the sudden cries of ferocious beasts. A house near that in which I resided was the den of a club, dependent on that central society, which, without powers, governed Nismes. Over the door was inscribed *Société Royale*, and the motto in the style of the committee of public safety, was '*The Bourbons or death!*' It was rare for protestants to appear in public. I have seen them driven from the promenades by a brutal and arrogant populace. Even at that period, the protestants dared not exercise their calling. Heterodox workmen were not permitted to gain their bread. I have seen pious porters pursue their protestant comrades with stones, drive them from the street, and not suffer respectable bales to be touched by polluted hands.

" 'The faithful,' remembering the plagues of Egypt, had marked their houses with the sign of the cross. Those without this sign were designated to Trestaillons and his *familiers*. Their zeal had not neglected to purge also the sanctuary of justice. The faction, every where

dominant, put in requisition the judges. There was no security for them; and so far was there from being tranquillity in the court, which ought to have been inviolable, that two different times, while defending the protestants, I was insulted, openly menaced, and even forced to abandon my clients. Deprived of all support from the administration, it was necessary thus to concede, to save the prisoners from the certain dangers which would have followed the proof of their innocence.

"On the 10th July, 1816, I defended a man, whom it was impossible to reproach. I established his innocence by certain and unanswerable testimony; but the persecutors were the more determined on his condemnation, as he belonged to Nismes; and as they wanted a judicial act to accredit a lie, for ever repeated, 'that the protestants of Nismes had ill-treated the royal volunteers.' I proved that, on the contrary, to several of these volunteers he had rendered particular services. It was necessary to oppose my evidence; my voice was drowned: I was abused, threatened, and clenched fists announced the decision of the populace. A witness thus brought against me was a simple labourer; but that day he wore a sword, and menaced me with it in full assembly. All was suspended; the president exposed to me the danger of a contest. The audience was composed almost entirely of the faithful horde; and I remarked among them the famous Truphémy.

Thus fell the accused ; but his innocence was so formal and indisputable, that the *procureur-général* afterwards obtained the reversion of his sentence, or rather his full pardon. I have mentioned this circumstance to prove what must have been the terror in 1815, if so much remained at the expiration of a *year*."

The populace, who displayed such zeal and audacity in the courts of law, and in the presence of the judges, were slow to comprehend the policy of their leaders, which enjoined the suspension of massacre and pillage ; and it was necessary to grant some indulgence to habits so long established. The news of the commotions at Grenoble and Dauphiny served as a pretext, though they had no relation to protestant or catholic opinions ; and the rabble of Nismes recommenced their violence.

Two houses, one belonging to Paulet, a gardener, and the other to Crouzat, à la Placette, were pillaged and devastated, the protestants were beaten in the streets, and several were confined to their beds, in consequence of their wounds.

On Sunday, the 12th of May, the city was thrown into dreadful confusion. Many protestants fled, and others were barricaded in their houses ; but few attended public worship. After service, the pastor gave the religious benediction to a marriage. The bridal party was attacked as it left the temple : the husband and others were dangerously wounded.

The next day, the residences of the persons ill-treated were forcibly entered. One of these, Teissonier, was near being murdered. A dozen of these monsters rushed into his chamber, threw themselves on his wounded body, with the intention of suffocating or strangling him; and would have succeeded, had it not been for a catholic woman, who lodged in his house. After breaking two chairs, in endeavouring to beat them off, she fetched her child, thrust it on the bed, between the murderers and the body of her landlord, and exclaimed, "If you kill him, you shall first kill my child." Among so many crimes, it is a pleasure to record this instance of humanity and heroism.

The terrorists marched through the faubourgs, knocking at the doors of the protestants, and publishing, with horrid imprecations, the arrival of a royal ordonnance, which commanded all protestants to embrace the catholic faith and declared that there should be but one religion throughout the kingdom. These reports, calculated to deceive the ignorant, and alarm the timid, were accompanied with pompous conversions. Those of Serrasse, and Sequin, formerly a violent Jacobin, were particularly distinguished. The apostate published an account of his conversion, or rather it was prepared for him, in which he celebrated *three returns*; — his own return to the bosom of the church; the return of the pope to Rome; and the return of Louis XVIII. to the throne of his ancestors. This

absurd and fanatical composition was profusely distributed, and stuck up at the corners of the streets.

The arrival of M. de Bernis and M. de Calviéres, two of the deputies of the department, presented another opportunity of tumult and rejoicing. The women of the Bourgades went to meet them, having at their head the whippers, *la compagnie des fouetteuses.** Their gestures, manners, and vociferations made them resemble furies; and the protestants, who were compelled to behold them, shuddered with horror.

To such a people the tribunals were continually affording fresh occasions of triumph and gratification: blood was their delight; and if it must not be shed by their own hands, they must, at least, see it flow at the hands of the executioner. From these tribunals the semblance and the attributes of equity were removed. Instead of justice, appeared a demon; the sword was exchanged for a dagger, the balance for a bribe, and eyes unveiled shot malice and revenge.

A few days after the scene described by M. de Peret, July 15., Francois Penarier was condemned to death, on the charge of having fired at Nicolas, at Arpaillargues, in July, 1815. The protestant peasantry were assembled at that period, to resist the threatened attacks of the

* So called from their having been most active in whipping and beating the protestant women with *batoirs* full of nails.

catholic army; and religious enthusiasm absorbed every other feeling. The pastors presented themselves to restrain the vengeance of the protestants. One of them, M. Olive, not being generally known, was seized by some of the peasants as an enemy; but no sooner did they learn that he was pastor of St. Chaptes, than they embraced him, and, bursting into tears, exclaimed, "Ah! Sir, it is our religion they intend to destroy, and for which we are determined to die." *

Penarier is considered to have been innocent; and it is known that, at the moment Nicolas was killed, Feline, the principal witness against the prisoner, enquired who had fired the shot. And even supposing Penarier to have occasioned the death of Nicolas, the event had occurred at a period of civil conflict, when the royal government was not established, and in consequence of the violation of a convention on the part of the deceased. But Penarier was tried in the hall where Truphémy appeared as a witness; and he was condemned. On the 31st August he was executed; Messrs. Vincent and Tachard, pastors of Nismes, accompanied him to the guillotine. He met his fate with Christian courage and resignation, and died protesting his innocence. His wife fell a sacrifice to grief for the loss of her husband, and their three orphan children were left entirely to the care of pro-

* See page 325.

vidence, and chargeable to the courts to the amount of 1200 francs, to which their father had been sentenced.

In the same month, July 1816, *nine* individuals were condemned for an affair which took place in the same village, at the period of the capture of the Duke d'Angoulême. The disbanded volunteers, marching through the country with their arms, in opposition to the terms of the treaty, attempted to enter the village by force, and two of them were killed.* Eight protestants were sentenced to the guillotine, and one to be marked with a hot iron and to the gallies for life. They heard their sentence with the greatest calmness. They appealed to the Court of Cassation, and to the clemency of the king. His majesty commuted the punishment of death for perpetual labour, in favour of three of the applicants; and five, among whom were two females, were ordered for execution.

As soon as the information arrived, the pastors hastened to the dungeons, in which, for months, the prisoners had languished and groaned. Though they were visited very frequently, they learned, from the countenances of the ministers as they entered, all the truth, and perceived that death was near. "We have long expected it," they exclaimed; "and you have prepared us for it. We are not afraid to die." To administer more copiously to the appetite of the people, and

* See page 153.

to consolidate more effectually the system of terror, two *spectacles* were ordered, and the executions were divided; three were to take place at Nismes, and two at Arpaillargues. Reboul, Bresson, and Dame Verdus, aged sixty-five, were to be executed at Nismes. The pastors, and M. Roux, pastor of Uzès, shut themselves up with them in their cells, to console their minds, and prepare them for the solemn hour. Their efforts were crowned by the blessing of Heaven. The unhappy protestants, accompanied by two pastors, ascended the scaffold, with a confidence which the people at first considered mere arrogance, but which religion only could inspire. Dame Verdus was the first; and she mounted the guillotine singing those words of the 25th psalm: "Unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul. O my God, I trust in thee, let me not be ashamed; let not mine enemies triumph over me," &c. &c.

Reboul died, recommending his family to God, and imploring for himself his grace and mercy.

Bresson, who was naturally ardent, began to complain of the injustice of his lot, and of the conduct of his persecutors; but, on receiving a look from his pastors, who were at his side, the murmurs expired on his lips, and he welcomed death, which he said he suffered for his religion, and prayed that his relatives and friends who survived him might see happier days. He desired that some clothes he had left in prison might be sent to his father, as the last

expression of his filial attachment. "Though young," said he, "I do not regret life; I leave the world with resignation, because I am confident that the God with whom my religion has made me acquainted, will be more merciful and more just than those who have condemned me to this shameful death: but I feel for my aged father, who depended on me, and has no one left for his support." These executions took place on the 24th of September, 1816; and, in the course of a few weeks, Trestaillons and his satellites had the gratification of seeing four protestants perish, as criminals, on the scaffold of Nismes.

The revolutionary arrangements of the magistrates had not merely divided the executions, but separated the females, so that the death of a woman might increase the tragic interest of each scene, and brutalize, if possible, still more the cruel agents of persecution. The widow Boucoiran, and Boisson, seventy-eight years of age, were ordered to Arpaillargues, on the night of the day on which their unfortunate companions had suffered at Nismes. Before they set out, the widow Boucoiran requested her companion, and all who were present, to unite with her in devotion. She then knelt down, and offered an affecting prayer, suited to her dreadful situation, and afterwards sang the 51st psalm: "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy loving-kindness; according unto

the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions," &c.

M. Tachard, pastor of Nismes, and M. Roux, pastor of Uzès, accompanied these prisoners in the voiture; and, during a journey of four leagues, the conversation was wholly occupied with religious subjects. As they passed the town of Uzès, the steeple of the protestant church met their eyes. "Blessed temple!" exclaimed Boucoiran, "where I loved so much to worship, I shall never see you more; but I shall go to one still more glorious in heaven, and angels will conduct me there." At the sight of a mill on the road, she requested that the miller might be paid for some flour, for which she was indebted. When the voiture arrived at the village of Arpaillargues, "Here I am about to die," she said, "before my own house: my children are, perhaps, there concealed; and I must leave the world without giving and receiving one embrace. Ah! this is, indeed, painful to a mother's heart; but the will of the Lord be done." Looking round, she continued, "Every thing in nature dies,—trees, flowers, all perish. We are like flowers; why should not I die also? But when I am no more, watch over my children: let them, I beseech you, be well instructed in religion, that they may find it support them, as it has supported me, and as it now supports me in my last trial. Make them learn the catechism thoroughly, and let them be taught trades, that they may gain an honest

livelihood, and be placed above the temptation of abandoning their religion."

At the foot of the scaffold, M. Roux addressed an exhortation to the condemned, which deeply impressed not only them, but many who were collected to witness and enjoy the execution. A few sentences were collected. "You are now," said he, "arrived at the end of your melancholy journey. On this spot you are to be executed. Listen, for the last time, to the voice of a pastor, who, with deep affliction, witnesses the death of the members of the flock committed to his care; but who will esteem himself most happy, if, by the help of the Lord, he be made instrumental to their salvation. It is not the scaffold, on which you are about to receive an easy death, a death which you will scarcely feel, that should inspire you with terror; it is the idea of the tribunal of the Supreme Judge, before which you must immediately appear. You have but a few moments to live; but connected with these remaining moments is your eternal happiness or woe. Improve them; hear nothing, observe nothing that passes around you; regard only the cross on which your Saviour hung and expired. Hear him say to a malefactor who died by his side, 'This day thou shalt be with me in paradise.' If you supplicate with the same ardour, he will bestow on you the same grace; and if, after his example, you have forgiven, and now forgive, he will forgive you. Though you should be innocent of the crimes of

which you are accused, you are still great sinners before God. Fall, then, at his paternal feet; let your hearts soften at the remembrance of the death and blood of his son; and, covered with that precious blood, say to him, 'Divine Jesus, we have no hope but in thee; it is from thy death alone that we hope for life. Thou didst not come into our world to save the just, but the unjust. Save us, then, O Lord, so that when we are dead to this world, we may live to thee. We fear thy justice; but thine infinite mercy encourages us. Society rejects us, all abandon us; but thou, tender friend, receive us to thy breast. There we cast ourselves, with perfect confidence. Wash in thy blood all our sins; apply to us all the merit of thy sacrifice. Cleanse our souls from all their impurity and stains, take them to thyself, and introduce them to the heavens, where thou eternally livest and reignest. In this sweet and consoling hope we present our bodies to the stroke of the executioner.'"

At the conclusion of this prayer, M. Roux raised the widow Boucoiran, and conducted her on to the scaffold, which she ascended with an energy and fortitude altogether above her sex. Her resignation, the prayers which she offered, with an unaltered tone, for her own salvation; the forgiveness of her enemies, which she repeatedly pronounced, astonished and affected many of the spectators. Till the moment that the instrument of death severed the head from

her body, the voice of prayer was heard to issue from her lips. Her pastor prayed, also, beside her, till she had passed into an eternal world; and then, covered with her blood, he prayed for her companion, Boisson, who also ascended with a firm step, pardoned his persecutors, implored the grace of God, and resigned himself to death with a calm and dignified confidence, of which the multitude had never beheld an example.

The bodies remained some time on the spot; and no one would assist in their interment. M. Roux would not quit them. He procured two protestants, who were in the village, and, aided by some persons ordered to the service by the adjunct of the mayor, they conveyed the corpses to two holes, which had been prepared the night before. All the consideration and importance of M. Roux was necessary to restrain the brutal malignity of wretches, who, not satisfied with exulting in the execution of the unfortunate, longed for the gratification of insulting their lifeless remains.

The widow Boucoiran left four orphan children; the eldest, a girl of thirteen years of age, was thrown into prison, charged with a capital crime, and brought before the *cour d'assises*, with an old man, eighty years of age. While in prison she was separated from her mother, who was not permitted to see her child before her death, and exposed to numerous inducements to renounce the religion in which she had been educated, and embrace the catholic faith.

Many other protestants were prosecuted and condemned, for the same affair of Arpaillargues. Three were condemned to death for contumacy, two to the gallies for life, and three to prison for five years. Bertrand, the author of all the events for which so many protestants suffered, was acquitted! But Bertrand was a good catholic!

Had Trestaillons, Quatretaillons, Truphémy, Boissin, and their associates, endured the penalty of their aggravated crimes, it might have been presumed that witnesses were free, juries pure, judges impartial, and the protestants guilty; but while those monsters were not only certain of impunity, but treated as innocent, every just and reasonable mind must conclude that witnesses were suborned, juries corrupt, judges partial, and the protestants unjustly condemned. In fact, the true character of the sufferings and executions of the protestants was proclaimed in the liberation and the triumph of the infamous Trestaillons. This wretch, when arrested by General Lagarde, was conveyed to Montpellier, to prevent his rescue by the people. The next day an immense multitude demanded his liberation at the hands of the general, by whose orders he had been arrested. Disappointed in their application, the catholic priests of Nismes, and persons of the highest rank, became their advocates, and solicited from the Duke d'Angoulême himself this special favour. "Leave to the tribunals the assassins and incendiaries," was the answer of the prince. The

hero of the catholics was conveyed from Montpellier to Lyons, before a judge of instruction; and there some protestant refugees were imprisoned for insulting him, by expressing their hope of his merited punishment. From Lyons he was sent to Riom to be tried; but the trial of Trestaillons was not to take place: he was not deemed sufficiently guilty to be brought before the *cour d'assises*, nor the chamber of accusation of the *Cour Royale*; for the first court, the *tribunal de première instance*, decided that there was not even ground for prosecution. The terror which subdued the protestants prevented the appearance of a single witness. And this was not all; in the absence of witnesses against the criminal, there were produced in his favour the certificates of persons of the first consequence, and even of public functionaries, soliciting his liberation, and representing him as a good royalist, carried away by zeal, but deserving all the interest of *honnêtes gens*. Declared innocent, without even the scandal of a trial, Trestaillons returned to Nismes, amidst the acclamations of an immense multitude, who rent the air with shouts of "The king of the Bourgades is arrived."* His majesty received the homage of many hundreds of catholics, and returned his visits, dressed in the uniform of the national guard, and with a sabre under his arm.

* In patois, Lou rey deis Bourgades es arriva.

As for Quatretaillons, after his arrestation, a deputation of the principal inhabitants of Uzes solicited his restoration to liberty, and the authorities interested themselves warmly in his favour. Witnesses were equally afraid to appear against him, as against Trestaillons, and he was found too good a citizen to be exposed to the ordeal of the bar. Persons of distinction welcomed him to their houses, and one of them appointed him his *garde-chasse*. Truphémy, so far from being disquieted, was admitted to give evidence against the friends and brethren of the protestants he had pitilessly murdered; and was acquitted of the guilt of a robbery, which he acknowledged in open court.

Boissin, whom a royal ordonnance had declared without protector or friend in Nismes, "lived peaceably during many months at four leagues distance, and, at length, fully assured by his friends, he consented to give himself to *justice*," or to use the words of the mayor, "audaciously suffered himself to be arrested at four leagues distance, after having had the happiness to escape the vengeance of public justice; thus braving the laws, and the authority charged with their execution."

Every thing was arranged under the direction of the *Société Royale*, at the Café Bolze, to render the triumph complete. The trial was delayed till February 1817. Witnesses in numbers were procured, and regularly instructed, and the jury were carefully selected. M. Bar-

agnon, counsel for the prisoner, was major of the national guard, in which his client was serjeant.

Boissin acknowledged that he fired a pistol at the general, but pretended that it was in lawful defence. The hall was crowded to excess, and the witnesses for or against the assassin were received by shouts of disapprobation or applause.

The declaration of General Lagarde stated, that the populace whom he endeavoured to disperse amounted to *several thousand* persons.

The officers of the garrison deposed, that the mobs before the doors of the temple, in the streets and on the open places around, were composed, according to the extent of the spot of *one*, *two*, *three* and *four thousand* persons. One of these officers stated that, to protect the protestant ladies, as they left the place of worship, he was obliged to make them retire into the first house, and place himself at the door with his drawn sword to prevent the mob from pursuing them. He added, that the colonel of the gendarmerie, approached him in a rage, and said, "You are not a protestant; you have no business here; retire."

Maignard, a commissary of police, declared the mob consisted of *sixteen hundred* persons. Another commissary of police estimated it at *one hundred and fifty* persons, and a third swore that he visited all the neighbourhood of the temple, and that there were not more than

fifteen or *sixteen* persons assembled. This witness united with M. Vidal, son of the celebrated commissary general of police, and captain of the company in which Boissin was serjeant, in attesting the moral character of Boissin, and declaring, that he would not have fired at the general, had he not received personal injuries, and been compelled to defend himself. "Observe the following circumstance in this famous process," says M. Madier de Montjau, one of the judges. "In answer to the charge of premeditation, Boissin pretended that he carried the pistol in question always about him, for his own safety.—'By whom was it menaced?' enquired the *procureur général*. 'By the protestants, my enemies,' replied Boissin, amidst shouts of *Vive le Roi* from the people.—'You could not have feared the protestants, disarmed and fugitives, who trembled at the mere sight of the uniform you wore as serjeant of the national guard?'—The objection was weighty. Boissin was embarrassed and silent; but his advocate, who has since been the advocate of Truphémy, desirous of destroying the bad impression produced by the confusion of his client, exclaimed, 'I allow that after the hundred days, the enemies of legitimacy (observe the words; the *enemies of legitimacy*) in a moment of alarm, left Nismes in great numbers; but they soon returned, and in November they displayed their wonted audacity, though they had not yet *dared* to open their temples.'

"At these words, the speaker was interrupted by a sort of flattering acclamation. The fearful auditory who filled the court was seized with enthusiasm, at hearing all the protestants outraged by those generic terms, 'The enemies of legitimacy had recovered their audacity, though they had not dared to open their temples.' I requested the president to suspend the sitting, that the court might hear an important demand, which I felt it my duty to make. I entered with my colleagues into the council chamber amidst a frightful tumult.

"'What you have just heard, gentlemen,' said I, is at once an insult to the protestants, and a provocation against them. In existing circumstances we owe them special protection; and I demand public apology for this outrage.' Against this opinion, the agitation of the minds of men, and the danger of an insurrection were urged, and it was proposed to send for the advocate, and admonish him in the chamber of council: in fact, he appeared and expressed his regret, that such phrases had inadvertently escaped. I replied, that the assurances given by the advocate would not efface a fault committed before the auditory; and I declared that I would not resume my seat, if public reparation were not immediately made. My obstinacy, if so they are pleased to call it, excited fresh debates, which continued two hours; and during the discussion, I was informed that horrible menaces were uttered against me, and that

the people would not let me leave the palace alive if this incident occasioned the adjournment of the trial of a wretch, whose acquittal had been promised them for that day. I was not to be intimidated; I announced, that in an hour I would undertake to leave the palace, and set out for Paris, to inform the keeper of the seals of the motives which had determined me to quit the court.

"At length, the advocate, major of the national guard of 1815, consented to pronounce in public the apology that I required, and thus addressed the court. 'I beseech the court to attribute only to the warmth of extemporary speaking, the expressions that escaped me against an estimable part of our fellow-citizens. Among them there may have been partisans of the usurper; but it would be unjust to accuse the whole, for the fault of some.'

"I resumed my seat, and had the happiness to witness the expiation of the great scandal that had been given to the protesants. I saw that atrocious populace, whose boldness had been fortified by long impunity, obliged to hear the eulogies of men who to that day had been abandoned to its insults and its fury.

"The friends of Boissin were confounded; silence and consternation succeeded to menaces, and the acquittal of the assassin was necessary to revive in them sufficient hardihood, to profane again the sanctuary of justice with their cries of '*Vive le Roi.*'"

When the proceedings were concluded, the president proposed to the jury ten questions, which they answered in a few minutes.

1. Is Boissin guilty of resisting with violence and arms, the public force, acting for the maintenance of the laws and the orders of the authority? No.

2. Has he taken part in a rebellious meeting of more than twenty persons? No.

3. Did he carry arms concealed? No.

4. Is he guilty of wilfully wounding a public agent in the exercise of his duty, and of occasioning illness, from which has resulted loss of labour during more than twenty days? No.

5. Have the wounds in question the character of murder? No.

6. Were they made with premeditation? No.

7. Similar to the fourth? No.

8. Is he guilty of any attempt at murder with premeditation? No.

9. Is he guilty of any act of rebellion, &c.? No.

10. Is it proved that Boissin acted under provocation of blows, or violence exercised against his person, without legitimate motive, by an agent of the public force in the exercise or on occasion of the exercise of his functions? Yes.

This reply, which concluded the verdict, completed the enthusiasm of the populace. It not only exculpated the assassin, but inculpated the victim. The president pronounced the acquittal of Boissin. The mayor promised his liber-

ation at the expiration of twenty-four hours. The people enjoyed their triumph, danced farandoles, and shouted "*Vive le Roi! à bas les grilleurs.*"

The ordonnance of the king had declared "that if such a crime committed on the person of his commandant were to remain unpunished, there would be neither public order nor security; and the magistrates would be guilty of not enforcing the laws." The catholic royalists thought differently, and they proclaimed, by the honours paid to Boissin, that contempt for the royal authority was the best proof of loyalty to the king. A subscription was opened for the benefit of the murderer, and he received a sum about equal to that which had been offered for his apprehension.

It was impossible for the most incredulous and prejudiced any longer to resist the evidence of the existence of a conspiracy, under the name of religion and loyalty, which was equally dangerous to the cause it professed to promote and that which it determined to persecute.

Those agents of the government who were not entirely devoted to the persecuting faction, were compelled to express their disgust and indignation at the system which had so long and so cruelly afflicted the department of the Gard. The day after the trial, M. Bernard, procureur général of the king, who had been chosen for his decided royalism, to replace M. Cavalier driven from his post by the enemies of the pro-

testants, wrote to his friend M. Madier de Montjau senior, Conseiller to the Cour Royale of Lyons, the following letter:

"My dear Friend;

"I have held the assizes in the affair of Boissin, the assasin of La Garde. It has had the most detestable result; for the assassin, avowing his crime, has been fully acquitted. You can form no idea of the intrigues employed by the party, calling itself royalist, to save this great criminal: the interest which they took in him arose from his being a *royalist*, and his having fired at the officer who protected the opening of the *protestant* temple.

"This wicked conduct will involve, at least so I fear, this city in endless calamities. I could tell you many things that have occurred in this affair, but as they would not be honourable for the actors, I cannot trust my observations to a letter; besides your son, who is full of courage and of honour, will communicate with you himself. I have done my duty. I have thundered against the enormity of the crime and the criminal; so that I am, in the eyes of the party called royalist, only a jacobin, who has preserved to this moment his disguise. Such is this country! I am not afflicted at what concerns me personally, but at the wickedness itself, and at the pain which the king will experience, who in his ordonnance said, "An atrocious crime has polluted our city of Nismes,

if it is not punished, there will be neither order nor government." And it is not only unpunished, but it has been decided that Boissin acted in lawful defence; that is to say, that the general attempted the life of Boissin, by giving him some strokes with the flat of his sabre, because he insolently refused to retire, and that Boissin did right to fire at him. — My blood runs cold at hearing such principles!

"This city is not fit to hold tribunals. Justice is not free here, especially under the controul of magistrates without energy; and for my part I desire heartily to be immediately removed, though thoroughly disposed not to abandon, good principles, but to defend them at any price to the last.

"Adieu, dear friend,

"BERNARD."

Another catholic magistrate, of the Cour Royale, wrote immediately after the trial as follows: —

"They have gloriously acquited Boissin to the cries of *Vive le Roi!* I give you my honour that a catholic of considerable influence in the national guard said seriously this morning, that if Boissin were acquitted, as was most probable, General Lagarde would pay dearly for the time he had been detained in prison. The procureur général displayed on this occasion firmness and talent; but how could one expect any other result

from a jury composed by such a prefect? The crowd were quiet, till they were excited by the noise of two thousand persons, which the hall could not contain. It threatened to overturn the palace. A farandole was commenced on the esplanade. When the procureur required the detention of Boissin, till it was known, if there was any other charge against him, he was hissed and hooted. The tumult was terrible. To-morrow he will walk between Truphémy and Trestaillons. When one thinks of these iniquitous trials, and on the condemnations, or rather the butchery of Arpaillagues, nothing can astonish; and it requires a strong mind to resist either fury or despair. You can form no idea of the sufferings of the persecuted protestants. How many have I seen weep as they have said to me, 'You are deceived, or you deceive us — before the revolution we had no temple, and our lot was supportable; but now we are apparently tolerated, we are in fact abandoned to more horrible calamities; and the tribunals — the tribunals for the last eighteen months!' I am ashamed of myself. How can one be an upright and courageous magistrate, and by one's presence appear to sanction such iniquity? The hope of preventing evil has alone detained me; at least I know all, and I am prepared to expose their manœuvres and intrigues. The jury have been selected and re-selected. Boissin was sentenced to be hung in 1782 or 1783 in the Ar-

dêche; but could they hesitate between him and General Lagarde?"

The minister of justice denounced the verdicts, and annulled the decision of the Cour d'Assizes; but this proceeding, though it proved the illegality of the decree, disturbed in no respect the authority of the vote of the jury; and Boissin, though invited by the mayor to absent himself from Nismes, remained at liberty.

The government itself could no longer decline to act, without compromising both its dignity and its reputation. At length M. D'Arbaud Jouques, prefect of the Gard, under whose administration so many plots had been matured, so many crimes committed, so many innocent persons persecuted for their religious profession, and so many criminals pampered and protected, was dismissed from his office; an office which he had held with dishonour to himself and misery to the department. This was a concession to public opinion in France and in Europe; a concession highly honourable to the protestants, so long calumniated and so cruelly oppressed.

It may be conceived, from the result of this trial, what must have been the general spirit of the local administration, and to what numberless and nameless acts of injustice and persecution the protestants had every moment to submit, even when their houses were not sacked and burnt, and their lives hourly immolated. The

hand of arbitrary power was felt when it was not visible; every part of the social circle was either broken or compressed. It is hardly possible for a public officer to leave in the sphere of his administration more solid monuments of incapacity and injustice.

The rich protestants, both manufacturers and agriculturists, had suffered immense losses. The interruption of their commerce and their occupations, the necessary abandonment of their homes, the destruction of their harvests and estates, the demolition of their houses, the repeated robberies and extortions of licentious mobs, and the partial and despotic assessments of the Constituted Authorities, had impaired incalculably their fortunes. One fact alone will display the truth of these assertions.

The French government had recourse to a sort of forced loan of one hundred millions of francs to meet the claims of the Allied Powers, after the second restoration of the Bourbons in 1815. In the department of the Gard, the assessment was made with an iniquitous partiality above all description. Two lists of contributors were formed; one of landed proprietors and another of capitalists and tradesmen. In the former it was difficult to introduce an arbitrary alteration, and the assessment was made by the administration of public contributions. On the second, the most shameful and revolting injustice was exercised; and the protestants were compelled to submit, and dared not even complain.

The entire list of all the individuals taxed, with the sums paid by each, and the necessary explanations, would occupy too great a space without exciting particular interest. But a few instances from this list will demonstrate the audacity with which the property of respectable citizens was illegally appropriated.

M. Fornier-Clausonne, Conseiller of the Cour Royale of Nismes, and the only protestant in that court, was taxed 3437 francs (£143. sterling); and this sum nearly equalled the amount levied on the whole Cour Royale, composed of *thirty* catholic magistrates. M. de Forton, who was president at that period, is himself far richer than M. Fornier Clausonne, and is, in fact, one of the richest inhabitants of the department.

Messrs. Murjas, merchants and catholics, of Nismes, are universally known to be much richer, both as proprietors and capitalists, than Messrs. Vincent de Villars, protestants. Messrs. Vincent were, however, taxed 8250 francs (£333. sterling,) and Messrs. Murjas were only liable for the sum of 825 francs (£34. sterling.)

Messrs. Rodier, protestants of Anduze, whose property consists principally of estates, were assessed to the amount of 18,000 francs (£749. sterling), while M. Dumerlet, catholic, of the same town, and of nearly equal fortune, was only taxed 80 francs (£3. 6s. 8d.) The same proportion was observed on an amount of 400,000 francs.

While the rich were thus rapaciously plundered, the poorer classes were plunged into the greatest misery, and were deprived of all the ordinary sources of alleviation and support.

Their looms, their tools, their cattle, their furniture, their habitations, their produce, and the little savings of economy on industry, all were ravaged and destroyed,—orphans and widows claimed the succour of relatives who were themselves in mourning and distress,—multitudes in prison and exile not only endured every sort of indignity and privation, but entailed on their families the persecution and cruelty of the magistrates, by whom they ought to have been protected and relieved,—their employers were either catholics who dismissed them, or protestants who had fled for the safety of their lives. The wealthy had sustained such injury in their fortune, that their charity was necessarily more limited as the occasion for its exercise was more urgent; and the relief of suffering protestants was even considered as evidence of conspiracy against the altar and the throne. The Consistory was deprived of its resources, its system was deranged, and its operations were suspended. The deacons were no longer able to dispense to the expecting sufferer the wonted portion of food and raiment. Complaint was even denied to the wretched and the destitute; it could only irritate their enemies and aggravate their woe.

Under this accumulation of poverty, chagrin, terror, and sickness, all their supposed ex-

pedients were diminished or annihilated. Here also one instance may suffice.

There are two hospitals at Nismes; one for the sick, and another for foundlings and for the aged and infirm. A council, composed of catholics and protestants, superintends the finances; but the internal regulations, and the management of the patients, is almost entirely abandoned to the nuns.

The protestants pay nearly half the revenue derived from the municipal funds, and they have therefore a right to all the advantages of these establishments, without being exposed to cruel and unjust persecutions for their religion, or being tormented in the agonies of death. Alas! instances of persecution and cruelty continually occur and will occur, while all the service is devolved on nuns bound by the vows and rules of their congregations to destroy heresy and propagate by all means the catholic faith.

When the pastors visit the sick of their flock, they are denied access; the nuns pretend not to know the patients; no information can be obtained, and it is absolutely necessary for the relatives who conveyed them, to conduct the pastor to the very foot of their beds. At other times, they are told that the patient has not asked for them, will not see them, is become catholic, and has confessed. The perseverance of the pastor has led to the discovery of a sufferer who welcomed him as an angel of God sent to strengthen his resistance to a thousand cruel efforts to

obtain a pretended conversion. The pastors scarcely ever visit the hospitals without hearing bitter complaints.

An old man, upwards of sixty years of age, was in the last extremity. Several nights he was tormented to change his religion, and his situation became so insupportable that he determined to withdraw. His friends, though indigent, received him. He was in a dying state when the pastor visited him. The struggles of his mind, and his painful removal, occasioned delirium, and while the consolations of the Gospel were addressed to him, he thought he heard only the discourses of his persecutors, and exclaimed continually, "Leave me; leave me; I will die a protestant; I will not become a catholic." One female was so solicited and reproached as a heretic, that she was often obliged to leave her bed in the night, undressed. Several others complained of similar violence and inducements on the part of the nuns.

All the foundlings and orphans are educated as catholics, though they are known to belong to protestant families. A family was refused the restoration of two girls, solely on the pretence of their not having made their first communion in the catholic church.

The poor protestants could not, under these circumstances, endure the idea of entering the hospitals, and preferred aggravated sufferings and even want. Thus, while the catholics in the hospitals amount to two and three hundred,

the number of protestants, who form a large third of the population, has never been more than ten or fifteen, and during the last years has not exceeded two or three.

The same principle of evil pervaded every part of the administration, and every rank and every relation of society. Every protestant was ejected from public office. The aged postmaster (*poste aux chevaux*) was displaced, and after many years' respectable service, could not obtain from the mayor a certificate of his good conduct. A protestant prisoner could find no register of his crime or his confinement in the records of his prison. A protestant widow could obtain no attestation of the murder or interment of her husband; an instrument necessary to the civil rights of her offspring. But it would be hopless to trace the mischief: it was every where. The prefect, with whom all this was identified, was dismissed; and there was at least the chance of improvement from the change. It was not without an effort that the friends of the Marquis D'Arbaud Jouques suffered him to depart. The character of his successor was not satisfactory; and it was hardly probable they could be favoured with another prefect as perfectly adapted to their system, and as instrumental to their success.

Though the prefect was removed, the inferior magistrates and agents still remained; and before they could be displaced, it was deemed expedient by the *Societé Royale*, to employ them in taking vengeance on the protestants, and exciting a

tumult in the Gard, which might render the return of their late chief apparently necessary. Emissaries were dispatched in different directions, as far as St. Ambroix in one extremity of the department, and the Herault on the other, to circulate reports and provoke disturbances. The tri-coloured flag was announced as raised in the protestant communes. The new prefect, alarmed and sensible of his responsibility, put the troops in motion. Vezenobre, Generac, St. Genies, Codognan, Mus, Aiguevives, Gajan, Blauzac, Beauvoisin, St. Hyppolite, &c. were the scenes of confusion and violence. To enter into all the details of this attempted insurrection would be too tedious. One or two instances will expose the nature of these iniquitous proceedings. At St. Genies, a shepherd presented himself at the mayoralty to apprize the mayor that a tri-coloured flag was flying on a poplar tree in the country. He confessed that he had not seen any assemblage of peasants; and the examination was concluded by his acknowledging that he had hoisted it himself!

The mayor of Generac had ordered all the inhabitants to shut themselves up in their houses at eight o'clock at night, and posted national guards on the public *place* to maintain tranquillity. In the middle of the *place* is a well, arranged for the watering of cattle; but it had been for some time out of order and useless. About three o'clock in the morning, a woman whose son was in the guard, went to this dry

well to water her horse, though she usually made use of one on her own premises. In spite of the darkness of the night, she discovered on the top of the pump an old petticoat with red and blue stripes, to which had been attached some white fringe. She ran to the post, and alarmed the national guard, the générale was beaten, and the commandant set off to Nismes to inform the authorities that the standard of revolt was raised. The provost, the judge, and the general, accompanied by a military force, repaired to Generac, where they were soon satisfied that the petticoat could not have been exhibited, without the co-operation of the national guard, and that the protestants, who were confined to their houses after eight o'clock, could have had no participation in the pretended revolt.

Under the former prefect, and before circumstances had permitted the truth to obtain some circulation, these despicable attempts would have deceived the government, and have produced the most mischievous results. It was now too late: the new prefect became each day better informed; the government had ample experience of his predecessor, and M. D'Argout was permitted to promise protection to the protestants, and peace to the department.

The administration of M. d'Argout, which commenced in the spring of 1817, marked a new epoch in the affairs of the protestants. It will be necessary to throw a hasty glance over subsequent events.

The amelioration was rather negative than positive, but it was duly appreciated and gratefully received. National guards no longer scoured the country *pour chasser les Chrétiéns;* but they were still armed; their vicious organization still continued; the protestants were still excluded and still disarmed. The tribunals ceased to select and pursue the members of the protestant churches, but proceedings and sentences were still hanging over many; some condemned to death, were only saved by concealment; others were suffering imprisonment, and every species of privation; and it was long before the prefect could effectually interpose with the government to reverse or mitigate the judicial penalties pronounced by persecutors. Protestants were not murdered and plundered in open day, but in open day they were insulted by the murderers of their relatives, and the widows and orphans of the murdered were unassisted — their property was lost, and their trade ruined. The agents of government were not so wanton in their oppression, and so partial in their authority, but the protestants were still excluded from the places of profit and influence which they were qualified and entitled to possess. The persecuting faction was not insolently

supreme, but the committee of the *Café Bolze* was still organised, all its ramifications were unbroken, and every arrangement was made to profit by any circumstance favourable to the resumption of absolute power.

Thus a sort of calm without security was prolonged for several months; the hatred of the catholics was not concealed, the anxiety and depression of the protestants was evident, and the prospect was dark and foreboding. The government at length found it necessary to disband the national guard, and to require the surrender of its arms. "It has been badly formed," wrote M. Lainé, then minister of the interior, "it has not opposed any of the excesses, and I am convinced that there will be neither tranquillity nor freedom of election in the Gard, till after its dissolution."

This important measure was not effected without difficulty. Instigated by their chiefs, the "*brave national guards*" determined to resist the royal authority, and on the 2d of August, they appeared at Alais in open insurrection. The national guards of that town seized the chests of muskets in store, broke them open with hatchets, and burnt them on the public place; they proceeded to the fort, with the intention of setting fire to the magazine, and, had it not been for the arrival of a Swiss battalion, the protestants had been massacred. This movement was designed to draw the attention of the prefect and the garrison from

Nismes, that an insurrection might have there exploded, which would have extended to the whole department. Twenty of the ringleaders were arrested, but the terror was too great at the period of their trial (1819), to permit of their punishment.

This rebellious resistance to the royal mandate proved more strongly its necessity, and the dissolution was finally accomplished. The elections were conducted without tumult. The father-in-law of M. de Cazes was appointed president of the college, and he and M. Chabaud de la Tour, a distinguished protestant, were elected deputies. By uniting a relative of the principal minister with the representation of the department, the government gave a pledge of its intention to maintain the protestants in the exercise of their religious and civil rights.

The disarming of the national guards was, after all, rather a nominal than a real advantage. They surrendered, it is true, the arms of the government, but there were still left to them all those of which they had deprived the protestants, and which were equal in number to those they resigned. Their organization was secretly maintained; they were privately reviewed; they preserved much of their terrible costume, and with all their moral consistency undissolved, they displayed an impudence and an impatience which bespoke their confidence, and their determination to recommence their attacks,

whenever the opportunity should occur.* Such an opportunity was soon presented, in the address of the chamber of peers, for a change in the law of elections, at the beginning of the year 1819. France was generally agitated; but in the Gard the apparent calm was suddenly exchanged for the fury of the passions, and all the precursors of religious and civil war.

From numerous accounts of the scenes of March, 1819, the following is preferred; first, for its comprehensiveness, and especially as it bears the authority of an official communication. It formed part of a speech before the court of Cassation and the Keeper of the Seals, by M. Madier de Montjau, judge of the *Cour Royale* of Nismes.

"On the first mention of an alteration of

* The ordonnance of the king for the dissolution of the national guard appeared July 26th, 1818. But though dissolved, on the 12th of August, a letter was sent to the inspector, by order of Monsieur, Comte d'Artois, of which the following is an extract:—

"The national guard has shown itself worthy of itself to the last moment. Monsieur expected nothing less of this *excellent* corps. The recollection of the last *cry* which it uttered, will remain in the heart of his Royal Highness, by the side of the remembrance of its fine and *glorious* conduct in 1815."

The mayor wrote on the occasion to all the officers, sub-officers and guards, a letter equally laudatory of its good and *loyal* conduct; though that conduct had been so flagrant, that the minister of the interior said, "There will be no tranquillity in the department, till it is dissolved; and his Majesty had accordingly ordered its dissolution.

the law of elections in 1819, all the chiefs of the faction were in raptures, and their agents were immediately in motion. M. d'Argout had passed to another prefecture; his successor had not arrived, and a substitute held the office in his absence. The Swiss troops, who had long been in garrison, were removed; the new regiment had not entered, and only about 130 soldiers remained to insure the peace of Nismes and the department.

Missionaries were sent into the communes to excite sedition and tumult. One of them, Bois, a catholic royalist, of Milhaud, was arrested by the *procureur du roi*, and it was proved on his trial, that after several conferences with his friend Trestaillons, he went among the peasantry crying "*Vive l'empereur*," with the design of provoking some expressions which might be charged on the protestants.

The men of 1815 recovered their sanguinary audacity. Shouts, provocations and threats, were heard in abundance on the 6th March, and *the old national guard re-appeared in uniform*. On the 7th, the protestants were attacked with stones and sticks, and several were seriously injured. Some of the rioters were arrested; they were rescued, and all the night this triumph was celebrated by horrible clamour. Aggravated outrages marked the following day. Mobs of three thousand men paraded the boulevards, rending the air with the cry of '*Les Bourbons ou la mort!*' A sort of order was observed in

these evolutions: the leaguers acted with a frightful regularity, and in Nismes and the neighbouring villages, the most atrocious threats publicly announced a vast and complete proscription of the protestants.

"Pushed to extremities by their persecutors, these unfortunate citizens felt at length, that they had only to choose the manner in which they were to perish. They unanimously determined that they would die fighting in their own defence. This firm attitude apprised their butchers that they could no longer murder without danger. Every thing was immediately changed. Those who, for four years, had inspired terror, felt it in return. They were terrified at the force, which men, so long resigned, found in despair; and their alarm was heightened when they heard that the inhabitants of the Cevennes, informed of the danger of their brethren, were marching to their aid. But without waiting for these reinforcements, on the 9th of March, the protestants appeared at night in the same order, and armed in the same manner, as their enemies. The leaguers paraded the boulevards with their usual noise and fury. The protestants remained silent and firm in the posts they had chosen. Three days these dangerous and portentous meetings continued; but the effusion of blood was prevented by the efforts of some worthy citizens distinguished by their rank and fortune. By sharing the dangers of the protestant people, they obtained the

pardon of an enemy, who now trembled while he menaced.

"Unhappily fresh violences, committed in the night of the 12th of March, on some isolated protestants, rekindled in the mass all their indignation. In the midst of this frightful agitation, the *procureur général* pressed me to repair to the place where the protestants concerted their measures of defence. I feared that all my entreaties would not induce them to abandon their projects of vengeance. "Nobody can calm them so well as you," said the *procureur general.* "Do not require it," said I, "if I do not succeed, the leaguers will accuse me of exciting vengeance; and if I do succeed, they will denounce me as the chief of a party, and ascribe my generosity to some secret motive." "Ah!" replied my friend, "what signifies calumny and ingratitude. *I am convinced, that the firm and calm conduct of the protestants has saved the department. I authorize you to inform them, that I have already apprised the government of this truth.* Conjure them not to injure their cause. You cannot better serve the king and humanity."

"I no longer hesitated to endeavour to arrest the most lawful resentment. My remarks were at first coldly received; but some of the unfortunate persons, who had been condemned by the tribunals, and whose sentences had been remitted by the king, exclaimed, "Shall we forget how M. Madier declared against our condemn-

ation, and enlightened the justice of the king. It shall not be said that we were deaf to the voice of our defender. Tell the *procureur général* that he has judged impartially, that we shall not trouble the department we have saved, and that we shall always be generous towards our enemies, when they do not endanger our lives. In fact, the meetings of the protestants ceased that night."

The danger was not, however, terminated. The general commanding in the department sent to Montpellier for a detachment of troops; and the commandant of the 9th military division dispatched them with the greatest expedition. The leaguers, emboldened by the moderation of the protestants, had become so outrageous, that, on the 14th, the troops were obliged to charge them with the bayonet. Two were wounded, and one was killed. The first functionaries informed the government, that the situation of Nismes was frightful, and that every moment blood might flow in torrents. The ministers held a special council, directed the new prefect to set off instantly for his post, dismissed several of the local authorities, and ordered troops, in every direction, to march on Nismes. The ministry was now animated by a spirit very different from that which tolerated the protracted massacres of the South; and this effort of malignity and fanaticism was not only abortive, but returned upon its authors in exposure and disgrace.

At length the veil was entirely removed, and the truth was clearly exhibited. It was no longer the solitary voice of a virtuous deputy, drowned in clamour and censure, but the solemn accents of M. de Serre, the Minister of the King, the Keeper of the Seals, and the Minister of Justice, that, from the height of the tribune, resounded through France. "The ministers are reproached," said he, "with indifference to the pressing dangers of the monarchy. No; but it is otherwise they have perceived the danger—the danger of yielding to the attack of *a party*—the danger of laying a rash hand on a law (the law of elections) to which the nation is attached, as to the surest ramparts of its liberties and its rights; the danger of destroying the confidence between the monarch and his people. Why must I repel another odious reproach. The augmentation of the college of the department of the Gard has been attacked, and one of its deputies has been forced to prove that the murders committed the year before, had but too justly prevented the attendance of the electors. Immediately inattention and impunity were charged upon the ministers; confounding the present ministers with those who have retired. It is impossible any longer to be silent, however afflictive the scandal. Let it be remembered, however, that the scandal is in the crime, not in the complaint, not in the voice of blood unjustly

spilt: this tribune ought not to be silent before crimes so great.

"If members had reflected on the state of parties, on their ramifications, their power, their audacity, they would perceive that their spirit could viciate and paralyse the most noble organs of the social order. Learn the result of the efforts of the government, and appreciate the reproaches which it meets. I shall mention only a few facts, but they are striking and notorious. I shall make no reflexions.

"The general commanding at Nismes, in the midst of a riot, protected with his person and his sword public order, and the lives of citizens. He is shot. The perpetrator of the crime is seized; the fact is certain and acknowledged. The judge asks the following question. Was the homicide committed in a case of lawful defence? The jury reply, yes; and the criminal is acquitted. — Another general commanding at Toulouse, endeavouring to quell a tumult, received a dangerous wound. He was carried home, his murderers pursued him, entered his house, and mangled him, yet living, with a thousand blows. They were tried. It was argued in their favour, that they could not kill a man already mortally wounded. Two of them only were condemned, and that only to imprisonment.

"A man whose horrible name it is painful to utter, Trestaillons, and his associates, were prosecuted for several murders. The cause was

sent before the tribunals of Riom, where it was hoped justice would be more independent. It was impossible to obtain the evidence of a single witness against them. They were frozen with terror. The witnesses in their favour were numerous. For want of evidence, the prisoners were set at liberty.

"I have done, and I demand, "Shall France be delivered or not to the domination of a party? No, France repels such domination, she expects from it only oppression, shame, and calamity."

M. le Comte de St. Aulaire, father-in-law of the Duke de Cazes, acknowledged that the electors had been more numerous in the Gard on the last elections than the former. "But," said he "the reason is obvious. Before the elections took place in 1815, numbers of defenceless citizens were killed in the streets of Nismes, many houses were pillaged, and women were outraged with equal indecency and barbarity. The protestant electors of the Cevennes did not enter the city; they regained their mountains, and the elections were finished without opposition. Justice has not overtaken the authors of these crimes. The presence of murderers shocks public morals, and distresses the families of the murdered. These men still exerted themselves in the elections of 1818."

The speech of M. de Serres was the official declaration of the ministry, and it left neither obscurity on the past, nor doubt on the future. Trestaillons, who had defied opinion and

justice, by exhibiting himself with his agents on all the public walks of Nismes, took the alarm; his friends withdrew him from the pursuit of the minister, and he fled.

M. Cavalier, who was dismissed in 1815 from the important post of procureur général was appointed mayor of Nismes; several other mayors were replaced by persons more calculated than their predecessors to inspire public confidence, and the protestants began to hope, that the march of the government would be henceforth so decided and impartial as to guarantee their security and comfort. Alas! they were again to be deceived.

The persecuting faction was too deeply and broadly rooted, to be eradicated by the ordinary operations of any government. It still preserved its power; and the course of justice was still perverted. The rebels against the public authority at Alais, who had broken and burnt the chests of the government, stolen its arms, and insulted its officers, were *all* acquitted, save one, and the jury only consented to find him guilty, because they were informed that he would be merely sentenced to the costs and the *surveillance* of the police. Such was the recollection and the terror of 1815 and 1816, that the jury took care publicly to declare to the crowd, before their verdict was returned, that the prisoners should be acquitted.

Boudon, of Vigan, was arrested for having attacked a protestant, and having wounded him

with a knife; and the charge was attested by four of his friends. Not a doubt was entertained of the guilt of Boudon, but he was acquitted.

"The evil," said the president of the court, in his letter to the Minister of Justice, "is great, it is immense, but my efforts would be useless to determine the government to the only remedies which can arrest its progress. At Nismes, I have no longer hope of success; it seems that the faction redoubles its activity and audacity, and extends its manœuvres in proportion to the energy which it expects to meet in a president.

"I can no longer, I will no longer, witness such indignities. I will no longer be even the innocent occasion of a verdict similar to that which has ensured the impunity of Boudon, and which may be called a proclamation, designed to encourage and recruit the bands of Trestaillons and Truphémy, for a moment alarmed."

Two of the most active companions of Trestaillons were arrested after the new crimes which they endeavoured to commit in March, and were tried at Riom in November; Truphémy, for the murder of M. Bourillon on the esplanade, and Servant, for the murder of Lichaire. Encouraged by the speech of the Keeper of the Seals, and the pledges given by the government, the witnesses appeared, and gave their evidence with clearness and courage. Servant did not scruple to say before the court, that they dared not have given

such evidence at Nismes. Both the criminals were condemned to death. Their friends of the Café Bolze discussed the propriety of sending an advocate from Nismes to defend them; but they decided that it was not the moment to brave the minister of justice. The sentence of Truphémy was annulled by the court of Cassation, for informality; and he was again tried at Valence in the department of the Isére. Some months had elapsed, and the revival of the hopes and courage of the catholics had commenced. This time a subscription was opened, and catholic ladies made a collection for Truphémy. M. Baragnon, major of the national guard of 1815, who had so successfully defended Boissin, the assassin of General La Garde, was dispatched to Valence to conduct the defence. The jury were *well* composed, and they added to their verdict of guilty — "of the fact, but not of the intention!" The exertions of the catholics thus secured the life of Truphémy, and they openly boasted, that he would obtain the royal pardon, and that the acquittal of Servant would also have been certain, had his trial been delayed.

Every means was now put in motion to strengthen and stimulate the populace. On the 7th of January, 1820, one of their nightly committees was convened, to arrange a secret inspection of their national guard, and to fill the places of some inferior officers deceased. A plan was adopted for the removal of the garrison, and the dismissal of the mayor and pro-

cureur général of Nismes. Fortunately these intrigues were not kept profoundly secret. The minister of war was apprized beforehand of the period when the application would be made, the obscure individual by whom it would be presented, the eminent personage by whom it would be supported, and the infamous reasons on which it would be founded. All arrived, as foretold, and the minister promised that nothing should be changed, nothing be neglected, to ensure the tranquillity of the department.

At this moment the assassination of the Duke of Berry, which threw France into consternation, furnished a splendid occasion for the persecutors to resume their bloody reign. Their chiefs at Paris forced M. de Cazes from the helm of the state, and sent him into exile. At Nismes, the most horrible of all the monsters of 1815 re-appeared triumphant. Trestaillons had fled after the speech of M. de Serre; he returned after the 13th of February, 1820. "He is come to avenge the death of the prince," cried his troops, assembled on the Boulevards, — and on whom? "On the protestants!" As though the protestants of the Gard were guilty of the crime of Louvel. "Why did not we make an end of the race in 1815?" "Let us murder these wretches; their blood will produce royalists!" During several days, these cries were constantly repeated, and the instructions received

from Paris alone prevented scenes of carnage. The leaders once more preached patience and caution, and presented promises and hopes. The delay was only to render more signal the vengeance of the people.*

In this state of affairs, when there appeared only the alternative of destruction or conflict, Providence, who secretly and perfectly arranges the vicissitudes of the social world, sent an in-

* "The 17th of February, the news of the death of the Duke of Berry arrived at Nismes; but, amidst the general grief, an atrocious joy was manifest among those who calculated on the effect of the crime. In the course of the 18th, *a circular*, No. 34., was received from the committee at Paris; among other things, it said, "Be neither surprized nor alarmed; though the event of the 13th, has not produced the instant fall of the favourite; act as though he was already overthrown; we will tear him from the post if they do not consent to banish him. In the mean time, organize yourselves; instructions, orders, and money, will not be wanting."

These directions were implicitly followed, and the attitude of the murderers was as terrible as their masters could desire. The next *circular*, No. 35., soon followed. "We required of you, a few days since, an imposing attitude, at present we recommend calmness and the most perfect reserve. We have gained a decisive advantage in driving out De Cazes. Great services may be rendered to us by the new ministry; and we must take care not to discover hostility. We repeat it — the greatest calm. Our addresses must be numerous, let them be sent even from the hamlets, and by the side of sentiments of grief, the necessity for *vengeance* must be energetically expressed." This order was obeyed.

These circulars always arrived at Nismes in the short period of *three* days. The distance is about 180 leagues, and the ordinary time of the courier eight days.

dividual to effect the deliverance of the protestants of the Gard; or at least to retard the hour of their great calamity.

M. Madier of Montjau, a catholic, a magistrate, and the son of a catholic, a magistrate, and a royalist, who, from the meeting of the States-general, by votes, sacrifices, imprisonment, and exile, had proved his devotion to the Bourbons; M. Madier of Montjau stept forward alone; and in a petition to the Chamber of Deputies, revealed all the facts of the long and inconceivable persecution. He exposed the brutality of the populace, the intrigues of their leaders, the guilt of the magistrates, the scandal of the tribunals; asserted the innocence and the virtue of the protestants; demanded the destruction of the secret armed force, and the punishment of the guilty. Above all, he presented two *circulars*, which formed part of a regular correspondence, subversive of the administration, carried on by persons of the highest consequence, and expedited by couriers more rapid and independent than the messengers of the government. The statements of M. Madier were incontrovertible. As conseiller of the Cour Royale of Nismes, and president of the court of Assizes, he had witnessed every transaction, had corresponded with the government on many of the evils, and had prevented others. His reputation was irreproachable; honour, loyalty, courage, and patriotism, were too universally associated with his character not to enhance

the value of his revelations. He produced an analysis of all the history contained in this volume, and not a word could be denied. The deputies of the Gard ascended the tribune and supported his declarations. France listened and pronounced its verdict.

The following speech, delivered by M. St. Aulaire, father-in-law to the Duke de Cazes, forms an important document.

"I had intended to give to the chamber the fewest details possible of what occurred in the department of the Gard in 1815; but I have just read, in a paper printed by permission of the censure of the government, and which seems to give it more credit, that the crimes committed at Nismes after the second restoration ought to be considered as reprisals, the necessary consequences of what had previously occurred. It is impossible for me to suffer the Chamber and the public to be deceived on this point. I will say, since these unjust recriminations are repeated, that the crimes committed after the second restoration, were not only atrocious, but entirely gratuitous. I appeal to my colleagues, and to all those who know the department, and I declare, in their name as well as in my own, that not a drop of blood was spilt at Nismes during the hundred days. Three royal volunteers were injured at Arpaillargues, but it was with arms in their hands, and in a contest with other armed men. The good royalists had, with all France, the grief of seeing the

legitimate government overthrown; but the most exact investigations have not informed me, that they were the objects of any persecution whatever. These unjust recriminations and denials are not the only causes of the irritation which still exists. When the king sent me in 1818, to preside over the Electoral College of the department, I must say, that the protestants appeared to me full of love for the lawful authority. Their desire was, to repose under the royal protection; they felt the importance of making great concessions to the executive power, to enable it to mediate between all interests and all passions. This testimony I must render to men whose political principles have been so much calumniated."

"The protestants were modest in their demands, they only asked present safety and security for the future; alas! they have only obtained the half of their demand. I do not pretend to reproach his Majesty's government; in 1818, all the ministers displayed the utmost solicitude for the Gard. The dissolution of the National Guard was due to the prudence and the firmness of M. Laine. The re-organization of the Cour Royale was effected by M. Pasquier, then Keeper of the Seals. These measures prevented public disorders; but security for the future has never been established; and how could such security exist in a country where that part of society which is nearest the throne, continually displays the most odious anticipations? While it seems

to recognize a law, distinct from *the law*; a government, distinct from *the government*; and a king, other than *the king* himself? It is but too true, that at Nismes the lawful and protecting influence of the government has had to contend with the secret and exciting influence of a party. I repeat it, there is there imminent danger. The royal authority must exist for every one, or it will soon cease to exist for any one.

"In the department of the Gard, the protestants have suffered much, and they have suffered with resignation; and I am certain they would have renounced all vengeance, and have signed a sincere reconciliation, under the auspices of the throne, if the party of 1815 had consented to destroy its organization. But this organization still exists, (April 25th, 1820,) and every day symptoms admonish the protestants, that they enjoy not a durable peace, but a *truce*, and prudence counsels them to *prepare*. I do not say that there is a conspiracy, but there is at least a *league*, which is necessarily destructive of public tranquillity. What would be said, if the protestants were to form an association? Who would have a right to complain? Not those who first gave the example; nor the government, which is unable to defend itself. Such is the state of the Gard, and I repeat, there will be no remedy till the organization, and the power of the party of 1815, are destroyed."

Several other deputies expressed similar sentiments, bore their testimony to the truth, and by

long and animated debates, avenged, in some degree, the wrongs of the protestants of the South.

Urged by the dangers that menaced them, and encouraged by the example of their disinterested and intrepid defender M. Madier de Montjau, the widows, orphans, and relations, of the slaughtered protestants presented, in the course of the summer of 1820, a petition to the Chamber of Deputies, demanding the prosecution of the murderers of those most dear to them, as the only guarantee of their future security, and as the necessary step to the assertion of their civil rights. Another revelation of crimes and persecutions was the result, and their disclosure tended to awe both the people and their chiefs.

Quatretaillons, of Uzes, was accused before the tribunals on *eight* different charges, — an attempt at murder with fire-arms, — robbery with fire-arms, — an attempt at robbery with fire-arms, — the murder of six prisoners, forced from the care of the jailor, and shot on the esplanade of Uzes, — open pillage of a house and shop with an armed mob, and extortion of one hundred and fifty francs, — the devastation and plunder of a house, furniture, and produce, of a female at Montaren, — robbery of a horse of a protestant pastor, — and, finally, the murder of six protestants of St. Maurice, on the esplanade of Uzes. On all this catalogue of crimes, which is a specimen of those committed in profusion by himself and his comrades, he was ordered to

be tried. His friends withdrew him from the violence of the storm; and secure under their protection, he waits for the return of those times when he may again be the guest of notable catholics and eminent royalists. In the mean while, his non-appearance has exposed him to the sentence against contumacy; but he remembers, that Bertrand, of Arpaillargues, was also condemned for contumacy, and now lives safe and happy, though *five* innocent protestants were doomed to the guillotine.

On the other hand, the sufferers of Nismes saw themselves attacked in the person of their generous champion. M. Madier de Montjau was officially summoned before the Court of Cassation, presided by M. de Serre, Keeper of the Seals, to answer for alleged impropriety of conduct as a magistrate, in making those public appeals to the Chamber, which saved the protestants, and have rendered more difficult the renewal of the persecution he denounced. The public prosecutor demanded the erasure of his name from the list of magistrates. This was refused by the court; and it was with difficulty that the censure of this virtuous magistrate could be obtained, for having imitated the example given him by the same M. de Serre, in his speech in 1819, already cited. *

The noble and eloquent defence of M. Madier remains to attest and increase the evidence of

* See page 599.

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the *innocence* and the *injuries* of the protestants. Before the highest legal court, all the facts of a *religious* persecution were re-stated, and not a single negation was opposed. Happily for the persecuted, with that union of talents, virtues, and energy, which is destined to have a mighty influence on public affairs, and with new lustre thrown on a brilliant reputation, he is returned to watch at the post of danger.

To conclude: on the past, there rests no doubt, but the future is still alarming. The condition of the persecuted fluctuates with the slightest political alteration. The law of elections has been changed. Two of the bitterest enemies of the protestants have been chosen deputies at Nismes.

Such is the history of the events that have occurred since 1814. Such, at the close of the year 1820, is the situation of the protestants of the department of the Gard.

THE END.

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